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THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

BISHOP CHALLONER

(1691-1781)



From an engraving published in 1781

Emery Walker Ph. sc.

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

BISHOP CHALLONER

(1691-1781)

BY

EDWIN H. BURTON, D.D.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP CHALLONER.

CHAPTER XXIII.

VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE LONDON DISTRICT.

1758.

No details of the death of Bishop Petre would seem to have been preserved, beyond the fact that he died in London and not in Essex: but there has survived among the Diocesan Archives the little paper-covered note-book in which Dr. Challoner entered, during the days immediately following, odd particulars as to the estate of his dead friend. Very rough and cryptic notes they are, with cramped abbreviations difficult to decipher, yet not without their human interest. There is an entry two days before the death, "20th December, Expended on B. P.'s account. A letter with a copy of the jubilee 2s. 6d." Before the next entry was made the death had taken place, for we read, "Coach to Dr's Commons 1s.," a journey taken, one may surmise, on business connected with probate. The next entry deals with Requiem Masses, but as might be expected the details are purposely obscure. "Sent to Chapels for prayers," it begins, and then there follows a series of disjointed figures and letters, from which one may gather that the regulars were not forgotten. We read, "Dirge 9 G.[1] Mr. Shaw, etc. 7 G. Jes[uits] 15 G., Fr[anciscans] 12, Ben[edictines] 5, Carm[elites] 5, Dom[inicans] 4, Cap[uchins] 2, Aug[ustinians] 3." And on the same page there is a brief list of

[1] "G" here stands for Guineas. It is a customary abbreviation in his note-books.

the deceased bishop's personal effects: "2 watches, Episcopal ring and cross, buttons, mourning ring, a purse of 15 G.", with other financial notes. Later on there are memoranda as to the dates on which various episcopal faculties had been renewed, and particulars of diocesan funds and trusts. Finally, there is a note, "Of the things left by B. P. to Mrs. E. Eliot she gave me this 3d of Jan. the chalice and paten, and the walnut bureau and table and the altar-piece to be offered to Lady St[ourton]".

From the contents of the little book one may reconstruct some faint picture of the London Catholics in many secret places performing the last rites for their dead prelate, whose body, according to the law, had to be laid to rest to the public accompaniment of the Church of England burial service, while Masses and dirges were being performed in subterranean fashion elsewhere. One can figure also the new vicar apostolic in patient and methodical manner investigating and arranging the various financial matters of the district, and finally getting them into new shape and businesslike order without much loss of time. With regard to certain amounts, for instance, he notes, "All these are now put into one deed of trust signed Jan. 15, 1759".

There were also formalities at Rome to be carried out. Correspondence with the agent, Dr. "Kit" Stonor, as to grant of faculties, formal official documents, renewed every five years, which may still be seen in the Archives of Westminster and Southwark, but which are of no more than antiquarian interest now.

One pressing piece of business, important above all and before all, had to be carried out at once. Dr. Challoner's health was now in such a precarious condition that immediate application for a coadjutor-bishop became necessary. Only a short time before, Propaganda had sent instructions to the vicars apostolic in England, reminding them of the necessity of making provision for the government of their districts in case of their death, either by obtaining coadjutors or by appointing vicars for that purpose. Dr. Challoner preferred the former alternative, and in the same letter to Rome in which he announced the death of his predecessor, he applied for an assistant-bishop, and sent the names of three priests, whom he

thought worthy of the office, and all of whom he lived to see bishops, in course of time.[1] They were the two younger brothers of the Earl of Shrewsbury, James and Thomas Talbot, and his friend William Walton. Of these, the last-named was a good example of the best type of Douay priest. He had entered the English College as a boy, shortly after Dr. Challoner had left, and was ordained priest in 1741. He had been for some years Professor of Theology at Douay before he came to England in 1748 to serve on the mission. He is described in the college diary as a sharp-witted man—*vir acri ingenio*—and one excelling in piety and well-versed in letters. He had published a book, *The Miraculous Powers of the Church of Christ*, now indeed forgotten, though of some vogue in its day. He was at this time forty-two years of age, and was greatly esteemed and trusted by the bishop.

The two Talbots were much younger men, James being only thirty-three and Thomas thirty-two, but they were already marked out by many qualities as likely to make good bishops. For the greater part of their lives they had been together, and they were so alike in character that what is true of one is true also of the other. Educated together first at Twyford and afterwards at Douay, both of them resigned the worldly advantage of their high birth to serve God as ordinary secular priests. The deep personal piety that thus led them to devote themselves and all they possessed so entirely to the work of the priesthood, marked their whole lives. Their charity was inexhaustible, and their share of the family possessions was lavished on the Church and the poor. Yet they seem to have had no consciousness that they were of any special use or service, and both were marked by a humble distrust of self and fear of public notice that became at times quite a source of embarrassment to their superiors. While this spiritual beauty of their disposition endeared them to Bishop Challoner, he was also alive to the advantage which either brother would derive as bishop, from his extensive patrimony and from the respect and deference with which men of such rank were then gener-

[1] His letter to Propaganda was enclosed in one to Dr. Stonor, the original of which is in the Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 28, while Dr. Stonor's Italian translation is in the Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 6-7.

ally treated. Even Government itself would be likely to show some consideration to a prelate who happened also to be a member of one of the noblest and most ancient families of the realm. Moved by these considerations Dr. Challoner thought that one of them would be a better choice even than Mr. Walton, and of the two he gave the preference to the elder brother James.

The matter was entrusted to Dr. Stonor to carry through at Rome, and it is interesting to note that besides approaching Propaganda in the ordinary way, he sought the formal approval and assistance of the exiled Stuart king. This is one of the latest, if not actually the last, of the episcopal appointments in which the royal rights of the house of Stuart were recognised by the Holy See. When "James III." died in 1766, Pope Clement XIII. resolutely refused to accord to his successor, Charles Edward, the recognition as a reigning sovereign which had for so long been granted to his father. Such recognition undoubtedly made difficulties between the Holy See and the English Government, and now that the prospect of the Stuarts ever being restored to the Crown of England appeared more and more remote, there seemed no good reason for continuing a state of things which, without any obvious advantages, only created needless embarrassment.[1]

But in 1759 James was still living and was habitually treated by the Pope and the Papal Court, as well as by British subjects living in Rome, as King of Great Britain and Ireland. To "His Majesty," then, Dr. Stonor presented the following address on the subject of the coadjutorship, while a similar letter was sent to the Cardinal Duke of York. The terms used seem strange to us now, considering that seventy years had passed since the Revolution of 1688 had ended the sovereignty of the Stuarts for practical purposes, but they well illustrate the attitude that Catholics preserved towards the fallen dynasty even at so late a period.

[1] See Vaughan, *The Last of the Royal Stuarts*, chap. vi. (London, 1906), where the futile efforts both of Prince Charles Edward and the Cardinal Duke of York to obtain recognition are described in detail. The Pope was so determined to withhold it that he banished from Rome the superiors of the English and Scots Colleges, as well as of the Irish Dominicans and Franciscans, for receiving Prince Charles at their houses with royal honours, after his holiness had made it known that he would not recognise the prince as king.

The letter is translated from Dr. Stonor's Italian copy now in the Southwark Diocesan Archives.[1]

"MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE KING.

"SIRE,

"Christopher Stonor, a most loyal subject, and most humble petitioner of your Majesty, has the honour to lay at your feet the information that, on the 22nd of the month of December of the past year, Monsignor Benjamin Petre, Bishop of Prusa, and lately Vicar-Apostolic of the London district, passed to a better life at the age of eighty eight. And as Mgr. Richard Challoner, Bishop of Debora, coadjutor of the deceased, and now Vicar Apostolic of the said district of London, finds himself, by reason of his advanced age, and weak constitution, unable to sustain alone the weight of that Apostolic ministry, he has therefore made a pressing request of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, begging them to grant him a coadjutor, to this end suggesting three most able men for that post. These are Messrs. James and Thomas Talbot, brothers of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Mr. William Walton, native of the county of Lancaster, but a missionary in the city of London, and for many years professor of Theology in the English College at Douay—all three distinguished for piety, doctrinal knowledge and prudence. However, the said Bishop of Debora seems to give the preference to Mr. James Talbot, who also has been professor of Theology in the same College of Douay, and who, besides enjoying the protection of that noble and widespread family, is provided with a large patrimony—a matter of no small importance in that country, where the Vicars Apostolic have no fixed stipend, and have not been accustomed, so far, to harass the people by the burden of maintaining them. Therefore the said petitioner, in the name and by the orders of the aforesaid Vicar-Apostolic, has recourse to the wonted generosity of your Majesty, humbly begging you to present this request under your own patent of recommendation; so much the more, because the said Bishop, and the persons proposed by him, have ever shown an unswerving

[1] *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 7-8.

loyalty and a singular regard for your Majesty and your Royal family.

"To His Sacred Majesty the King, by Christopher Stonor, agent of the Secular clergy and the Bishops, Vicars-Apostolic in the Kingdom of England."

Little time was lost, and all the powers were favourable, so that as early as the 13th of February the bishop's request was granted and on that day James Talbot was elected by Propaganda, subject to the approval of the Pope, whose assent was granted on the 18th of February. The new bishop was to take his title from the see of Birtha *in partibus infidelium*, and his Brief was dated the 10th of March, 1759.

Meanwhile another point of administration called for prompt attention. The refusal of the Holy See to recall its decision that every six years regulars should retire for three months to one of their own communities has been recorded. But the time had been extended for another six years, during which time faculties of regulars had to be renewed from year to year only. Now the first period of six years, dating from the publication of the decree in 1753, would expire in May, 1759, so that the bishop had to consider in what way the faculties for regulars granted in 1753 should be renewed. Two questions presented themselves to his mind. He wished to know first whether he ought to grant this extension to all the regulars in a body by means of a communication to their superiors, or whether he ought to give it to each in particular; and next whether he was at liberty to deny the privilege of extension altogether to such regulars as he considered to be in need of returning to their monasteries for a time.

The reply from Propaganda, dated 15th February, 1759, allowed him to use his discretion on both points, provided that in no case was he to extend faculties for more than a year at a time. On this footing the matter rested for the present, but it was not a very satisfactory settlement for the parties concerned, as once the second *sexennium* had expired, they would all be in precisely the same position as before, with the original difficulties undiminished. It was some time, however, before the question was again raised in any form.

The doubts as to the *sexennium* having thus been for the

moment removed, and the appointment of the coadjutor ensured, the bishop's way seemed clear before him.

On the 4th of May, 1759, he wrote to Dr. Stonor:—[1]

"I received your welcome lines of the 17th of March; for which I return you my most hearty thanks and for the pains you have taken to bring the affair of Mr. Birthan [Bishop Talbot] to so speedy and so happy an issue. His see is in Mesopotamia, a city on the Euphrates, under the Archbishop of Edessa.[2] He is abroad at present, but, I believe, will come over to receive his consecration here: and therefore I should be obliged to you if you would obtain for him (as Mr. Mayes heretofore did for me) a license to have this performed on any *double*, as the priests that must assist on the occasion, cannot so well be spared from their respective congregations, on Sundays or Holidays. As also, if any of my brethren, English or Irish, could conveniently assist on the same occasion (as may possibly happen by business calling them to this capital) we should be glad if they might be licensed so to do, notwithstanding the decree you signified to us against our exercising *pontificalia* out of our own districts."

In order that he might thus obtain permission to have the assistant bishops, or at least one of them, to perform their prescribed part in the office, Dr. Stonor drew up and presented the following memorial in his name.

"Richard Challoner, Bishop of Debora and Vicar Apostolic in the London district, at the feet of your Holiness, humbly explains that, although the Bishops chosen as Vicars Apostolic or coadjutors in this Kingdom of England, have in their brief the dispensation to be consecrated by one Bishop only, he is persuaded that it would be more in conformity, not only with the canonical regulations, but also with the mind of your Holiness, to gather together more Bishops, every time that it should be possible without great inconvenience, or without danger of too great publicity. But, since it is expressly forbidden to all Bishops dependent on the sacred congregation of Propaganda to perform pontifical rites outside the limits of their jurisdiction, it becomes impossible, for this reason, to enjoin their attendance. Wherefore the said petitioner has re-

[1] Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 35.

[2] This, of course, refers to the bishop-elect's titular see of Birtha.

course to Your Holiness, begging you to modify the above mentioned decree in this one case, to the effect that, when it is necessary to consecrate a Bishop for this mission of England, it be permissible for those English or even Irish Bishops who for business purposes, or as travellers, are—as sometimes happens—in the neighbourhood, to assist at the said consecration in pontifical robes, without for that reason incurring the penalties contained in the said decree."

In due course favourable replies arrived; he might consecrate his coadjutor on any festival day whatever, and he might obtain the assistance of two other bishops, provided they chanced to be in London. But he is not to summon them to London specially for that purpose, and he must make sure that no detriment to Catholic interests or any popular disturbance would be likely to ensue from such a gathering of bishops.

This permission was granted on the 14th of June, but when the news reached London, Bishop Challoner was no longer able to perform the consecration at all, and the ceremony had to be postponed. His strength had been strained to breaking point; from the beginning of the year his health had broken down, and now he was seized with an illness so serious that recovery seemed unlikely.

No one of his biographers has told us the nature of the malady, being rather concerned to relate how he set himself to face death. Mr. Barnard tells us that from the very beginning of the illness "he utterly relinquished all care and concern for this world, and would not so much as hear even of any business, but committed it all to his nominated Coadjutor and successor, and to his Vicar General".

For nearly three months he lay, resigning himself to the Divine will, and maintaining close and unbroken union with God in prayer, desiring death, we are told, yet willing to live and labour if God should so decree.

Gradually, however, his health returned, until by the middle of August it was possible to make arrangements for the deferred consecration; and on the 24th of that month James Talbot was consecrated bishop by Dr. Challoner, who, Mr. Barnard adds, "was then pretty well recovered from his sickness, though still in a very weak condition". He was assisted

in the ceremony by Dr. Francis Petre, the Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District.

From this time forward Bishop Challoner's life was spent almost entirely in London. He was now entering on his seventieth year, and was glad to avail himself of the strength and zeal of his young coadjutor. Henceforth the long toilsome country journeys were undertaken by the latter, while he himself stayed in his London lodgings, working there day by day at his administrative duties, receiving the customary visits of his poor, filling up spare time in compiling or translating books that he thought might prove useful, and, through all his occupations, praying apparently without ceasing. Mr. Barnard tells us that one result of his illness, clearly to be noticed, was his determination to redouble his efforts both for his own sanctification and the welfare of his flock.

With this object he organised among his priests a system of regular conferences, such as had formerly existed, but which had fallen into desuetude. At these gatherings he himself presided. He began them, says Charles Butler, "by the usual invocation of the Holy Ghost and then made a familiar address to them of about half an hour, to kindle in their minds the fire of divine love, and zeal for the salvation of their neighbours. If any one wanted advice, on any matter relating to his functions, he proposed his difficulty, and the matter was briefly discussed and solved." [1]

In these and other ways he was a real guide to his priests, through whom his influence spread to the people, so that he was in the truest sense the centre of Catholic life in London. Yet his work in this direction was not without serious trouble caused by those priests who did not respond to the ideal he placed before them, and who thwarted him, not so much by personal opposition, as by the scandal caused by their proceedings. For though the large majority of his clergy led edifying lives amid the most discouraging surroundings, there were a few who could only be considered as an absolute hindrance to the work of the Church.

When he first became vicar apostolic he had constant trouble from this source, and in his letters to Rome he recurs

[1] "Life," *Cath. Mag.*, i., 656.

to the subject with a persistency that shows what a standing anxiety it was to him. Bishop Milner alludes to some of these priests in his *Life of Dr. Challoner*, and the unhappy records of others lie buried in the papers of the London Vicariate. There is nothing now to be gained by recounting these sordid stories. It suffices here to notice them only in so far as they throw light on the general condition of affairs and the administrative problems the bishop was called upon to solve.

For one thing, it caused him to give serious consideration to the training of the future priests, and in this connection his chief anxiety arose from the administration of the English College at Rome. He considered that the Jesuit Fathers were not sufficiently careful in refusing admission to improper persons, and he complained that such candidates, even when their unfitness was known, were not dismissed, and were even ordained as secular priests, though they would never be admitted into the Society. He wrote to this effect to his Roman agent, begging him to try and effect some reforms in this matter.

Of such candidates, he says that, when ordained, they were sent to this country, where they were incapable of good work and could do much harm both to themselves and others, and also to the great detriment of religion. He adds that the bishops have to maintain these useless members at their own expense. "We do so," he continues, "since we fear so many evils, and such great scandals, as well as the great discredit not only to the secular clergy but also to the Jesuit fathers themselves, their masters and directors, and to religion in general." [1]

A few months later he wrote:— [2]

"The mission has long groaned for want of labourers to gather in the harvest, which in many places might have been very great, if we had proper workmen, in efficient number. But our misfortune is, and has been for a long time, that our labourers are but few, in proportion to the number we formerly

[1] Letter to Dr. C. Stonor, Oct. 9, 1759, Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Agency Papers*, pp. 19-21.

[2] Letter to Dr. C. Stonor, undated but endorsed "Answered Aug. ye 5, 1760," Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 43.

had; and of these few a great part are of little or no service to the mission; yea rather of very great disservice. As to the source of this crying evil, in looking back, for these fifty years and more, we find our infelicity in a great measure owing to the want of being supplied, in a proper manner, from that which ought to be our principal resource, as being so near the fountain head of religion; and withal so well endowed; I mean the college in your city. The number of missioners from thence, for these fifty years, has been far short of answering the revenues of the house; but this is not our greatest grievance. A great part of them that have been sent, have either been wretched tools, or scandalous livers; and several of them have even fallen from the Church."

Dr. Challoner felt so keenly about this that he with the Vicars Apostolic of the Northern and Midland Districts were consulting together as to whether it would not be desirable to request the Pope to put the government of the English College into different hands. Nothing, however, came of this project, and the Jesuits continued to direct the college until the suppression of the society in 1773.

In his efforts to secure a worthy body of priests Dr. Challoner was greatly harassed by the residence in London of a certain Monsignor Bradley, whose real name was Brullaugham, or Brulaghan, an Irish Dominican who had become affiliated to the English province, and who had been chaplain to the Sardinian embassy since 1730. In 1751 he had been chosen Bishop of Derry in Ireland, and was consecrated at the Sardinian embassy on the 29th of January by the Bishop of Ossory, who chanced to be passing through London. Bishops Petre and Challoner acted on this occasion as the assistant prelates. Unfortunately, the new bishop was absolutely unfit for his dignity, or indeed for any other ecclesiastical office, and within a year his resignation was exacted and he was forbidden by Propaganda to exercise pontifical functions anywhere.[1] Upon this, he returned to London, where by his influence at the Sardinian embassy he obtained the position of senior chaplain there. Having secured this appointment, he led a scandalous life in London for many years, absolutely ignoring

[1] The letter to him from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda and other papers relating to his case are in the Westminster Archives, 1750-60.

the repeated orders he received from Rome to retire to some house of his own order. Dr. Challoner has himself left us an indignant character-sketch of this disreputable person.

"There is another crying evil, in another kind, which we hope may be removed by the interest and interposition of our friends in your parts; which we have lamented for years, but could never yet see redressed. Now this is the scandalous kind of life which B[ishop] Bradley, *premier chapelain de Sardaigne*, has led and still leads to the great discredit of religion here, and the offence both of priests and people, both Catholics and Protestants: especially in passing his time in public houses, with very improper company, drinking to excess, passion, sometimes vulgar swearing, etc. The consequences of which, you are sensible, must be very bad both to himself and to the public. Not to mention the protection he has given to refractory priests, and his opposing what was visibly for the advancing of religion."[1]

For some years this had continued, and Propaganda had sent him repeated orders to betake himself to a Dominican house abroad, instructions which he only met with speeches full of contempt and reproach. Attempts to induce the Sardinian ambassador to dismiss him also failed, for, relying on the support of a friend at the Sardinian Court, he denied that he was dependent on the ambassador, and asserted that he was appointed by the king himself. Under these circumstances, Dr. Challoner felt that the only course was to bring direct pressure to bear on the King of Sardinia personally, thinking, as he wrote, that a prince so fervently religious, as the king was known to be, would never tolerate such a man at the head of his chapel if he knew him in his true character.

All this was presented to the Congregation of Propaganda in a memorial. Subsequent steps were, however, rendered unnecessary; for the unhappy man's career was closed by death on the 22nd of March, 1760, he being then in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

About the same time, the bishop had trouble with regard to two other ecclesiastics attached to embassy chapels, with

[1] Letter to Dr. C. Stonor, 9th Oct., 1759, Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 37. See also Dr. Stonor's Memorial to Propaganda on the subject of Bishop Bradley, *Stonor's Agency Papers*, pp. 21-22, Southwark Archives.

the result that the whole question of the appointment of chaplains by ambassadors was raised. One of these was an ex-Jesuit named Ward, who having been dismissed first from the Society and afterwards from the Midland and the Northern Vicariates in succession, obtained a chaplaincy at the Bavarian embassy, though very unfit for that office. The bishop ultimately refused to renew his faculties, though by so acting he offended the ambassador. The other case was that of one Montfort, an Irish Capuchin, who had been chaplain at the Portuguese embassy, and who had given much trouble both to his own superiors and to the vicar apostolic by his disedifying life. On the strength, however, of having once suffered imprisonment, he was able to impose upon Catholics at home and abroad by representing himself as a confessor of the faith.

Two other undesirable priests were also making strenuous efforts at this time to be appointed to the Bavarian and Venetian embassies respectively.

That such men as these could obtain officially recognised ecclesiastical positions was, as the bishop said, an abuse for which it was necessary to find a remedy. Yet the ambassadors were not bound to consult him in appointing their chaplains, so that he could only bring pressure to bear on them indirectly. Accordingly, he wrote a strong letter to his agent at Rome,[1] complaining that unsuitable persons were "with excessive facility" appointed chaplains to the embassies "at the request of ladies or others incapable of a correct judgment".

"The loss that thence ensues to our holy Religion," he continues, "is all the more notable, because the chaplains of the foreign ministers are, generally speaking, the only priests to whom Catholics can have recourse for the administration of the Sacraments. . . . It would be a great service done to religion, if our patrons in Rome could prevail upon the Catholic courts, which maintain public chapels in this city, (and especially under present circumstances, those of Bavaria and Venice) to give orders to their respective ministers to receive as their chaplains only persons recommended—or, at least, approved—by the Vicar Apostolic, and not to oblige him under such moral compulsion to give Approbation to persons whom he deems

[1] October 27th, 1760, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, *cit. sup.*, pp. 21-22.

unsuitable for that sacred office. The intention of these Catholic Powers in maintaining here public chapels and salaried chaplains is certainly to keep up the exercise of the Catholic religion, and to procure the salvation of souls in the best way possible. And so they ought with equal zeal to support the authority of the ecclesiastical superiors, and take united counsel with them in the choice of proper persons to be entrusted with the care of souls."

That the bishop's efforts were not entirely without fruit would seem to appear from an undated document in the Westminster Archives, which is a copy of rules laid down by one of the ambassadors for the clergy of his chapel. It is only a fragment, and there is no indication as to which particular embassy is referred to, but on internal evidence it relates to the period which followed the promulgation of the rules of the mission.[1] Thus the chaplains are directed in the first place of all to obtain approbation from the bishop. The rules given in this document are admirable in spirit and incidentally throw some little light on the customs of the time. Thus we learn that the last Mass on Sunday began at twelve, and that the notices for the week were read either before or after Mass or just before the offertory. On the Sunday afternoons Vespers and Compline, followed by the Litany of Our Lady, were said at three o'clock, and permission is given for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, which on more solemn feasts was to be given by the head chaplain. When engaged in the chapel or sacristy the chaplains were always to wear cassock and surplice, and they were given several rules for their general guidance. The impression left on our minds by all the evidence is that the embassy chapels were on the whole conducted by the foreign ministers with the utmost consideration towards the needs of the London Catholics.

[1] It probably related to the Sardinian Embassy. See p. 20, *infra*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MORE QUIET YEARS.

1760-1762.

DURING the twenty years that Dr. Challoner had been a bishop there had been spreading throughout the country that striking religious movement, which appearing then for the first time, has so deeply impressed the nation, and which to-day remains an active and living force, with yet unknown possibilities before it in the future.

It was in July, 1740, that in an obscure little chapel in Fetter Lane, within a few minutes' walk of Bishop Challoner's lodgings, John Wesley was excluded from the Society of Moravians. A few days later he transferred to the Foundery in Windmill Hill, now Tabernacle Street, Finsbury Square, the little body of eight or ten persons which he had organised the year before, and which he himself regarded as the first formation of Methodist Societies.[1]

Whatever may be thought of the movement as a whole it certainly took its rise from a desire for a more intense and real spiritual life. The first Methodists were communicating members of the Established Church, attached to her liturgy, accepting her ordained ministry. What they sought from their own meetings was that reality of internal religion without which they considered the sacerdotal and sacramental system tended to become mechanical. In their rules the first followers of Wesley describe themselves as "a company of men, having the form, and seeking the power, of godliness; united in order

[1] Though Wesley and his friends had been styled Methodists as early as 1729, while they were still members of the University at Oxford, their little society there had no historical connection with the subsequent movement. The latter was considered by Wesley himself as originating in 1739, and the official Centenary of the Wesleyan Methodist body was accordingly celebrated in 1839.

to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation".

From this it seems clear that having the *form* of godliness from their membership of the Established Church, they sought from their own society the *power*,—or interior spirit of piety. It was the inability of the Established Church to understand or to control this strange growth that gradually but inevitably drove the Methodists out from her and gave them separate corporate existence. For long this tendency was not perceived, and many devout and earnest members of the Church of England were attracted to this new society by the sincerity and reality of the spiritual life to be found therein. Admission to it did not imply separation from the Established Church, but only required a keen sense of the vital importance of the truths of Christianity.

Wesley's own rules are definite upon the subject:—

"The only condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies is a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins."

Every Catholic will sympathise with this aim, even while recognising how inadequate and feeble are these substitutes for the full dispensation of Christ, who has combined in His Church the perfection of interior and exterior worship, giving us in the sacrifice of the Mass an act of worship of infinite value, and in the Sacraments the outward signs of inward grace by which our souls are linked to Him. Catholics will therefore realise, as no others can, how great is the loss and deprivation under which those Christians labour who are deprived both of Mass and Sacraments, and the intimate living union with Christ that they imply.

Bishop Challoner would certainly have sympathised with everything that brought men nearer to God and helped them to love and serve Him more thoroughly, and therefore, at first sight, we may suppose that so far as the rapid growth of Methodism came to his notice he would regard it as something which might be regarded, if not with approval, at least with benevolent neutrality.

But unfortunately, as St. Augustine long ago pointed out, in every form of doctrine which is not that of the Catholic

Church, the true and the false are as closely mingled as the sound flesh and the diseased are to be found in the body of a leper. The most cursory study of the early history of Methodism shows how pitifully the weak human element betrayed itself, and how with all its promise of good there developed elements of danger.

The bishop watched it silently, until at length he felt bound to point out to his people where the danger lay. In 1760 he composed a short work entitled *A Caveat against the Methodists.* The work consists of six sections in which the writer first argues that "the Methodists are not the people of God nor is their new raised Society the true Church of Christ or any part of it". He next attacks the claims of the preachers to be accredited ministers of Christ, and contends that they not only lack the marks which the Scriptures indicate as characteristic of such ministers, but that their fruits do not in any way resemble those of the first teachers of Christianity. The two last sections are devoted to the doctrine of Justification, first with the view of showing that "the Methodists' pretended assurance of their own justification and their eternal salvation is no true Christian faith; but a mere illusion and a groundless presumption". There then follows an explanation of the Catholic doctrine of justification, which forms the longest and most important part of the book. That it awakened interest was shown by the fact that the book continued to be reprinted for more than half a century, and finally reached a sixth edition.

Another publication which he issued this year was called *The City of God of the New Testament.* It is a very brief abstract of Church History in sixty closely printed pages. He treats the subject century by century, giving under each section the names of the Popes, chief writers, chief events, and chief Saints; adding as occasion demanded the general councils, the conversion of the various nations and the rise of the chief heresies. Within the limits appointed, nothing more than a bare enumeration of names and facts was possible. The little book was published by Needham of Holborn in 1760, and was reprinted in 1788, for the only time. It was issued in pamphlet form in marbled paper covers, though it is sometimes found bound up with his next work, *A Memorial of Ancient British Piety.*

Besides these literary works he gave much time and attention during 1760 to the establishment of another charitable work,—a school for girls.

There was already a boarding-school conducted by the nuns at the Hammersmith convent, but this was for young ladies, and there was no provision for the children of those who could not afford the fees for a school of such standing. Many Catholic girls, therefore, were brought up in their own homes with very inadequate instruction either in their religion or in the ordinary branches of education, while many others were left as orphans, altogether unprovided for. This state of things and the need of making some provision for it had forcibly struck a devout and charitable Catholic lady living at Brook Green, named Carpue, whose husband was a gentleman of small fortune, descended from a Spanish family. Her constant charity to the poor and liberal almsgiving brought her into frequent communication with the bishop, whom, at length, she consulted as to the possibility of founding a school which might in some degree meet the want. The bishop supported the plan with the keenest interest, and advised her not only to open such a school, but to keep the superintendence in her own hands, while for his part he promised active assistance. He engaged the co-operation of a lady of rank who is not named, but who probably was Lady Stourton, and who gave material help.

The school was opened at Brook Green, though it would seem not to have been in Mrs. Carpue's own house, as at this time, and for some years after, she had family ties which renders it unlikely that she should have used her own residence for the purpose.[1] But very few details have in fact been preserved about the school, though it continued its excellent work for many years. Mrs. Carpue secured the services of a Catholic lady named Bayley, an energetic and capable woman, to act as mistress, and the venture met with considerable success. Several Catholics sent their daughters to it, and other girls were supported at the expense of various benefactors. Mr.

[1] Joseph Constantine Carpue, afterwards celebrated as an able surgeon and anatomist, was born at Brook Green on the 4th of May, 1764. It is difficult to gain definite information about the family, and it is uncertain whether he was the son or the grandson of Mrs. Carpue.

Barnard, writing in 1784, states that more than 500 children had been educated there, many of whom were orphans, who on leaving school were put in places as apprentices or domestic servants. "Of which number," he adds, "I find thirty-four to have been for several years maintained, educated and provided for, entirely or in part, at the expense of Dr. Challoner."

Late in the previous year, Dr. Challoner and the London Catholics sustained a loss in the accidental destruction by fire of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, their chief place of resort. The inconvenience caused would naturally have been only temporary, as the Sardinian Government was sure to rebuild and reinstate the chapel; but the ambassador thought this was a good opportunity to move the embassy nearer to the Court and thus suit his own convenience. This, however, would necessitate the transference of his chapel to a part of London in which it was not required, while the large number of Catholics in and about Holborn would have been deprived of their facilities for Mass and the Sacraments.

The bishop, therefore, used all the influence he could to prevent the ambassador from carrying out his intention, and on the 6th of May he wrote to his Roman agent begging the Holy See to represent the matter directly to the King of Sardinia.[1] Having referred to the recent death of Bishop Bradley, who had for so long been such a trial to him, he continued: "We are under a necessity now of applying to our friends with you to use the best of their interest with the court of Turin upon another head. You have heard, tis likely, of the chapel in Lincolns-inn-fields being burnt down by accident, (Nov. 30, 1759) a dreadful loss for our people; it being the best known, the most frequented, and the most commodiously situated, for the body of the Catholicks, of all the chapels in town (the rest being mostly at the court end, and just upon the skirts of the suburbs) so that this chapel has been for above these fifty years the chief support of religion in London. The present minister, like the rest of those gentlemen, wants to be near the court; and therefore seems willing to lay hold of this occasion; and instead of furthering the re-

[1] Letter to Dr. C. Stonor, May 6, 1760, Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 41. There are several letters on the subject in the Propaganda Archives, *Anglia*, vol. 4.

building of the old chapel, to which he appears averse; or taking any effectual means for establishing another, which might be equivalent in the same neighbourhood, he plainly discovers a design of letting time and opportunity slip; and then engaging his court to remove their chapel to a part of the town, where it would be of no use to the publick; and thus to abandon this neighbourhood, with infinite detriment to religion. Now we are quite convinced that the King is too religiously inclined, (of which we have had some late proofs, in the regulations he made for the Chapel a little before the fire) to suffer the removal of his chapel, from a place where it has stood so long, with so much honour to his Majesty and profit to the publick, to a place where it would be of little or no service. And therefore we make no doubt, but that upon the whole being properly represented to him from your parts, he would presently give orders for the fixing his chapel where it was, or at least in that same neighbourhood. For it would almost ruin religion in this capital to have it removed."

Ultimately the bishop prevailed and the chapel was rebuilt on its former site. But it was not without a long diplomatic struggle, for we find him writing as late as the 27th of October: "As to ye Sardinian chapel the Court of Turin enters heartily into our views, and has signified as much to their minister here: but he has a long head and by one means or another seems to seek to elude the good intentions of his master".[1]

The literary work which engaged the bishop during 1760 and which he published in 1761, was another attempt on his part to encourage devotion to the ancient saints of these islands, and it took the form of a short English Martyrology. To appreciate his object in this undertaking it must be remembered that although the *Martyrologium* was in its origin a purely liturgical book of an official nature, it had come even before the Reformation to be used by private persons who regarded the Divine Office with all its concomitants as the ideal collection of devotions even for the laity. Originally an official catalogue of saints distributed according to the days of the year, it came to be daily read in choir or chapter-house after Prime, to announce the festival to be observed on the

[1] Letter to Dr. C. Stonor, Oct. 27, 1760, Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 52.

morrow, and to enumerate those saints who were being commemorated elsewhere on that day. Just before the Reformation, a brother of Syon Monastery, Richard Whytford, worthy of memory as the writer of the *Jesus Psalter*, translated the *Martyrologium* into English "for the edificacyon of certayn religyous persones unlerned that dayly dyd rede the same martiloge in latyn not understandynge what they redde".

His book, now extremely rare, was published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1526,[1] and was the first popular Martyrology in English. The flood of the Reformation, which swept over England destroying the shrines and altars of the saints, and striving to blot out their memory from the land, prevented the appearance of any successors to this book. Nor did Protestant England trouble itself further about saints of any kind till the nineteenth century saw the beginning of efforts to restore what the sixteenth had destroyed.

Yet Catholics even in the bitter waters of persecution kept the memory of the ancient English Saints alive, and as early as 1608 a little "English Martyrologe" was published by a priest, John Wilson, "conteyning a summary of the lives of the glorious and renowned Saintes of the three Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, collected and distributed into Moneths after the forme of a Calendar, according to every Saintes festivity". And to the national saints he added the names of those "who have suffered death in England for defence of the Catholicke Cause since King Henry the 8, his breach with the Sea Apostolicke unto this day".

Unfortunately Mr. Wilson's good-will exceeded his ability, and the value of his little book lies in the catalogue of English Martyrs at the end of it. So far as his Martyrology itself goes, it is of a character which roused Dr. Challoner to unusual severity. For, he said of Wilson, "this writer, besides omitting the greater part of the Saints of the Scots Calendar, (which he never saw) and almost all the Saints of Ireland, has been guilty of many gross mistakes in History with regard to those he has commemorated, and generally been very unhappy in the choice of the materials he has made use of, omitting what would have been most edifying in the Summary he gives of the lives of those servants of God and insisting chiefly on cer-

[1] A new edition was published by the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1893.

tain marvellous events, for the most part destitute of any sufficient authority to support them".[1]

But whatever Mr. Wilson's shortcomings may have been, the appearance of his book and the fact that a second and third edition[2] were called for even in those troubled times, showed that there were some left who clung to the daily remembrance of the Saints. This is also borne out by the publication in 1627 of an English translation of the Roman Martyrology from the pen of Father George Keynes, S.J. Of this book also, a new edition was called for forty years later, so that the idea of the Martyrology was not forgotten. Its spiritual value is insisted on much in the work of Father Keynes, to which there is prefixed an introduction of remarkable beauty on the profit to be gained by the daily devout reading of the Martyrology.

Bishop Challoner now conceived the idea of a new Martyrology for British Saints alone, by which their memory might be perpetuated. There was need of something of the sort, for there was little otherwise to prevent English Catholics from forgetting even the names of all except the most distinguished among them. At that time the festivals of the English Saints had not been restored, and hardly any were included in the Roman Calendar. St. Edward, St. Margaret and St. Ursula were observed by the Universal Church, while St. Augustine and St. Bede were kept by permission then lately granted by Benedict XIV. Otherwise there was nothing to recall to priests or people the memory of those "who made this once the Island of Saints". Challoner's own work, *Britannia Sancta*, was too expensive to reach the greater part of his flock, so he now aimed at a much smaller and less ambitious volume.

He called it *A Memorial of Ancient British Piety: or a British Martyrology, giving a short account of all such Britons as have been honoured of old amongst the Saints; or have otherwise been renowned for their extraordinary Piety and Sanctity.* In form it follows the method of the Roman Martyrology, but adds short biographical details in many instances, so that it is less rigid and technical in style. It may be doubted whether

[1] Preface to *A Memorial of Ancient British Piety*, pp. 5-6.

[2] In 1640 and 1672 respectively, but neither of these later editions contain the list of the English martyrs.

it was as successful as the bishop hoped it might be, for it has never been reprinted. It is, however, a good example of his knowledge of early ecclesiastical history in these islands, at a time when such information was far from common, and it has more value at the present day as a work of reference than many of his books which met with more immediate success. It was also the chief source drawn upon when an official *Menology* for England and Wales was drawn up in 1882 by the late Father Stanton, Cong. Orat., at the instance of the English bishops. In his introduction Father Stanton records that according to the instructions he received from the Hierarchy, Bishop Challoner's plan was to be followed in the main, though there were to be considerable modifications of detail.

From this it will be seen that in providing a national Martyrology Bishop Challoner was carrying on the work he had already done for his own age in giving his flock new editions of the Bible, the Catechism, Prayer-books and Meditation books; not to speak of the *Imitation of Christ* and other standard works. He wished his people to have every help in the spiritual life; and what was lacking in any direction it was his constant endeavour to supply.

In the month of June, 1761, the bishop was saddened by a letter from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in which he learned that the Bavarian ambassador, Count Haslang, had furnished to his Court a report, in which he made most serious allegations as to the moral character and efficiency of the clergy in London. These statements were in due course repeated in Rome, and Cardinal Spinelli called upon the bishop for an explanation.

In the course of a dignified and simple reply, Dr. Challoner noticed the coincidence that it was just this ambassador, now complaining of the clergy, who was giving him trouble by admitting unworthy priests as his own chaplains, a fact which may possibly throw light on the ambassador's onslaught.[1]

"Most Eminent and most Reverend Father,

"I have received with all respect the letters with which your Eminence in the name of the Sacred Congregation has

[1] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 42. The original letter being in Latin, a translation of it only is here given.

deigned to honour me. In these you set forth the very serious accusations which Count Haslang, the Bavarian Ambassador, has lately brought against me and all my clergy, before his Court and also before the Sacred Congregation.

"He asserts that all our ecclesiastics, especially those of the Secular Clergy, are so relaxed in morals and so lacking in learning, that scarcely one can be found fit to administer the sacraments. He moreover pretends that this happens through my fault, as though I had raised to Holy Orders men of this kind, to the very grave detriment of Religion, and that, not without serious danger to the Catholic faith being altogether lost, through their depraved morals and slothful ignorance.

"Now if these things—or even the least part thereof—were true, we should be unworthy, not only of that protection of the Sacred Congregation by which we are helped in the daily difficulties incident to this mission, but even of life itself. But we return thanks to the Divine Goodness that the matters which are alleged against us are remote not only from truth but even from verisimilitude. This is easy to prove.

"And first with regard to the unworthy men promoted by me—as it is alleged—to the priesthood, I protest before the Sacred Congregation that I have never in the whole course of my ministry conferred the sacred order of Priesthood on any one at all, worthy or unworthy. For it is not, and never has been our custom in England, for priests to be ordained by the Vicars-Apostolic. And this I think is not unknown to the Sacred Congregation. But all the priests that are in England, whether secular or regular, are always appointed for this mission by Colleges or Religious houses, beyond the seas. And if from these it sometimes chances that unfit men are either ordained, or sent to us by the Rectors of Colleges, or even if after they have been sent here, they fall into evil, this cannot be ascribed to any fault of mine. And if there are any such to be found in the embassy-chapels, it must be laid to the charge of those who have admitted men of this stamp, against my wishes or without my being consulted. Now this has been done by Count Haslang with regard to William Ward, who was expelled from the Society of Jesus. And he seemed likely to do it in respect to others no less unworthy, so that I

was driven to have recourse to the Sacred Congregation for a proper remedy.

"For the rest it cannot be that the falls or vices of these and certain others can substantiate the general accusation of dissolute conduct and slothful ignorance which the Count has made against all our priests. The very opposite is not only true, but certain and evident to any unprejudiced observer of the present state of our mission. For it is clear that many of our missioners, Seculars as well as Regulars, are worthy of commendation, not only in their lives and morals but in their knowledge and doctrine. This is abundantly testified, especially with regard to the Seculars, by the number of books written by them either in defence of the faith or in support of morality, books which are so profitably used by our Catholics.

"And this is what I have considered should be written either in defence of myself and my priests, or for the satisfaction of the Sacred Congregation.

"Meanwhile I am always most ready to obey your commands in all things, and to show myself not only in words but in deeds, always and everywhere,

"Your Eminence's

"most humble and most obedient servant,

"RICHARD *Bishop of Debora.*

"LONDON, 23 *June* 1761."

Nothing need be added to this defence of the London clergy who under every disadvantage, legal and social, were keeping alight the lamp of faith, and many of whom were soon under active persecution to prove their devotedness in the law-courts and prisons of London.

The following month the ambassador wrote personally to the bishop with reference to the case of Mr. Ward, and peremptorily demanded that his faculties, which the bishop had refused to renew, should be restored to him.[1] To this Dr. Challoner returned the following firm reply:—

[1] Copies of Count Haslang's letter and of Dr. Challoner's answer are in the Southwark Diocesan Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 45-46.

"SIR,

"The respect I owe to your Excellencie's character, as well as the great esteem I have for your amiable disposition, which endears you to all that have the honour to know you, joined with the singular obligations we all have to you on ye acct. of the Chappel, would not allow me the least thought of doing anything willingly that might give you any just offence, much less of attempting anything upon your Excellency's priviledges, for which I shall always have a most tender regard. As to poor Mr. Ward, it was not without great repugnance, and scruple of conscience, that ever I admitted him to the care of souls committed to my charge, because he had been dismissed from the Society of Jesus, and having been afterwards employed in two different dioceses, he was expelled from them both. However, as your Exie. had made choice of him, for your domestic Chaplain, and requested that he might have also faculties for the people; purely in consideration of your request (tho' I apprehended he had obtained it by subreption) I consented to give him those fac[ultie]s for six months, with a design of continuing them from six months to six months, with the good liking of ye Sac. Cong. de Prop. to whom I owe obedience. But as this Congregation has expressed to me their dislike of my proceedings in this Regard and has forbid me to renew his faculties any more it was not in my power to continue them, or to act any otherwise than I have done. In the meantime, here is no attempt made against his continuing your Excellency's chaplain, and enjoying your protection, nor is there any actual censure inflicted upon him: but only a withdrawing from him the burthen of the Care of Souls, for which his Ecclesiastical Superiors judge him unfit; more perhaps for the fault of the head, than of ye Heart; The case standing in this manner I rely upon your known goodness and equity that your Excellency would not desire to strain our conscience, nor to charge your own with matters purely relating to the care of ye Souls of the faithfull committed to us: and that you will not take amiss what we have done purely to discharge our conscience I have the honour to be, etc.

"RICHARD DEBOREN, V.A.

"*July ye* 13, 1761."

That Bishop Challoner was keenly solicitous for the sanctification of his priests is shown by his institution of the clergy conferences. At these gatherings the London clergy met together week by week, with the object of discussing difficult cases of conscience that might occur and of encouraging the younger priests to keep up their theological studies, but, above all, of fostering a zealous and apostolic spirit among the whole body of the clergy. For the guidance of the priests attending these conferences he drew up the following rules:—

"Regulations agreed upon by certain Clergymen desirous to dedicate their labours to God in the London Mission.

"Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci; Rogate ergo Dominum messis ut mittet operarios in messem suam.

"1. Our first care shall be to endeavour to labour for our own sanctification. In order to this we will allow ourselves, every morning, at least one half-hour for mental prayer and one quarter of an hour at night for the examination of conscience: and we will once a year make a spiritual Retreat for eight days.

"2. We will neglect no opportunity of labouring for the conversion and the sanctification of our neighbours; and we will particularly direct our daily prayers and sacrifices to God to bless our labours in this kind with success. We will also put ourselves and our flocks under the protection of the ever Blessed Virgin, and of the Saints, more especially of the Saints and Martyrs of this nation and often beg their intercession.

"3. We will endeavour to perform all our functions with an edifying gravity. We will always begin them with an Invocation of the Holy Ghost: and particularly in hearing Confessions we will keep ourselves as much as we can in the presence of God and frequently aspire to Him that He may enlighten, direct, and assist us in that difficult employment.

"4. When we shall be desired to go to the poor that are sick, we will never decline it; but if it shall happen that some other call of the same, or a more pressing nature will not suffer us to go ourselves, we will take care to procure some other proper person to go in our place; and neither will we content ourselves with once or twice visiting such as we find dangerously ill; but we will diligently attend them till they either are out of danger or die, and we will pray for them.

"5. We will have a particular regard to the instruction of those under our charge and allow at least one hour in the week for catechizing children, exhorting all parents, masters, &c. to be diligent in sending them on these occasions. We will endeavour to instill into these young minds the fear and love of God; earnestly exhort them to diligence in prayer and teach them how to pray, how to hear Mass, how to prepare for Confession &c.

"6. With regard to all under our care, we will as much as we can promote their frequenting the Sacraments and strive to push them forward towards Christian perfection.

"7. We will endeavour to turn our common conversation, as much as may be, to edification. We will avoid all unbecoming levity, and all familiarity with persons of the other sex; neither will we frequent public houses without neccessity.

"8. We will spend our evenings, as much as possible, at our own lodgings, so that we may be found by those who shall want us for the sick; or be in the way for such as shall come for Instructions etc.

"9. Whenever we are to treat with anyone, especially in spiritual matters, we will first, within ourselves, adore God, invoke Him, and then salute the Guardian Angels of the persons whom we treat with. In giving counsel, returning answers, or determining cases, we will also make a short pause to consult God; and in matters of greater importance or difficulty, we will take more time to consult Superiors.

"10. We will exercise ourselves according to our ability, both in the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, and particularly we will endeavour to comfort the afflicted and to reconcile those that are at variance.

"11. We will prudently examine such Penitents as we have reason to apprehend are bashful and fearful concerning such sins as they might otherwise through shame, pass over in their Confessions: but in this we will use great discretion that we may give no occasion of sin to ourselves or them; or teach them sins they knew not before: we will also inculcate the sad consequences of bad Confessions.

"12. In the administration of Baptism and in other public functions, if there be any number of persons present, we will take occasion to explain the ceremonies of the Church, and

make some little exhortation to Christian piety suitable to the capacity of the Auditory.

"13. We will exact nothing for our Functions from the rich; and take nothing from the poor, and we will labour to remove far from us the love of filthy lucre.

"14. We will procure as much as we can, that all things about our altars be clean and neat; and that the wine for the august Sacrifice be genuine; and we will observe with all diligence the ceremonies prescribed by the Church, as well in saying Mass, as in the administration of the Sacraments.

"15. We will marry none under age, without the consent of their Parents; nor any that have not been first at Confession; nor those that we know nothing of.

"16. We will procure Confirmation as soon as opportunity will permit for such of our Penitents as have not been confirmed.

"17. We will meet once every week to encourage one another to the observance of these rules, and to confer together about difficulties occurring. And the first meeting in every month we will read over these Rules.

"AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM."

The bishop made a point of attending these conferences himself and delivering addresses to the priests thus assembled. Milner frequently refers to the good effects thus produced, and to the zeal with which he laboured in this cause. "Being convinced," he writes, "that the chief success of his pious plans depended upon the clergy's being possessed of the true spirit of their vocation, it is incredible what pains he took to inspire them with the same, both in his private instructions and in his public conferences."

Speaking, a little later, of Bishop Challoner's estimate of his priests, he continues:—[1]

"Though a man of first rate talents and learning himself; yet he made little account of these in the choice of his missionaries, compared with the edification of their lives and their zeal for saving souls. . . . He preferred a preacher of ordinary talents, with a great share of piety, to another of the

[1] *Life of Challoner*, p. 26 (wrongly paginated 29).

most commanding eloquence, who was less inflamed with devotion and the love of God; and, in particular, he severely censured all studied ornaments, either of language or of delivery, on this sacred occasion, as a sacrilegious usurpation on the part of God's minister, and an attempt to gain glory for himself rather than for his heavenly Master. He was guided by the same principles in the choice of the youths whom he sent to the nurseries of the mission, namely the colleges abroad. Innocence and piety were the qualifications which chiefly determined him in the election of them, and he kept a constant eye upon them, during the course of their studies, taking care to be informed of the least irregularity or even singularity in their behaviour; but he was chiefly moved to express the bitterness of his soul, when he found, as was once the case, that the profane novelties of the times had infected the mind of any one amongst them. On this and on certain occasions of the same nature, his natural meekness and forbearance were turned into a holy indignation."

At this time, owing to the continuance of the war with France, large numbers of French prisoners were brought to Winchester and other places who, to the bishop's distress, were deprived of all the consolations of religion, so that many died without the sacraments. The Government would not allow English priests to have access to them, so that their only hope lay in the French priests who had been on board the captured vessels and were imprisoned with the rest. But Dr. Challoner found that these priests were usually exchanged for English prisoners, so that their fellow-countrymen were abandoned to spiritual destitution. Accordingly, he caused representations to be made to the King of France desiring him to issue orders that in future any priests, who became prisoners of war, were not to seek exchange, but were to remain and discharge their priestly functions among the captives.[1] And for this purpose he was ready to give them all requisite faculties. It does not, however, appear what success attended his efforts on behalf of these unfortunate Frenchmen.

The year 1761 closed with a recurrence of serious illness. He himself made little of it. Writing in January, 1762, he

[1] Draft *Memoire to Mr. B.*, Sept. 21, 1761, Westminster Archives, *Bishop Challoner's Letter-Book*, p. 59.

tells Dr. Christopher Stonor: "I was confined by a cold and fever all last month: but am now pretty well recovered".[1] But that it was more serious than this we learn from Barnard, who tells us that on this occasion, as before, the bishop withdrew from all active business and turned from the world that he might die in close and uninterrupted union with God, but again he recovered, and never after this till his death twenty years later was he incapacitated by grave sickness.

Once more the same result was noticed. On his recovery he redoubled his spiritual fervour. Having been face to face with Eternity, he valued more and more the Sacrifice of the Mass, and we are told that though he had always been accustomed to celebrate the Divine Mysteries when able, from this time forward he became so constant and invariable in this practice "that if he was by any means hindered from daily discharging this duty to his God . . . the thoughts of such omission preyed upon his mind, and seemed to render him unhappy and miserable for all the remaining part of the day".[2]

Another result of the illness seems to be that early in 1762 the bishop drew up a complete and methodical account of the funds of the London District, which is still in the Diocesan Archives. It is purely a business document, but throws some light on the state of the mission. Thus we learn that the amount usually assigned for the support of a priest is £20 per annum, the highest allowance being £40. Even taking into account the higher purchasing power of money in those days, the amount shows the poverty in which priests habitually lived. Some of the funds are strangely disproportionate to the services to be rendered. There is, for instance, a fund "to procure spiritual and corporal help to persons in prisons, hospitals &c., to visit the same at least once a week and to have a special regard to prisoners condemned to die". But the total amount of the fund is only £500, so that, as Bishop Challoner said in a note, the scheme was "visibly impracticable". He adds: "We have always taken care with regard to the assisting at Newgate: and the principal part of the income has been applied to the gentleman assisting there: the rest is kept

[1] Letter to Dr. Stonor, Jan. 15, 1762, Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 55.

[2] Barnard, *Life*, p. 121.

in readiness for such as we can procure to assist in other prisons and hospitals". Some of these funds are for charities such as the above, others for the education of future priests, many for Masses, and not a few for the support of priests to labour in London.

The year 1762, which was to be so unfortunate for the Society of Jesus in France, and incidentally to lead to fresh trouble between the Jesuits and the seculars in England, opened quietly enough for Dr. Challoner. In the beginning of the year the never-ending question of the *Sexennium* again arose, and in consequence of fresh representations made to Propaganda by the Regulars, Cardinal Spinelli forwarded to Dr. Challoner a memorial on the subject, the tenor of which is sufficiently clear from the bishop's reply. His letter is interesting as giving the practical solution of the difficulty which commended itself to his mind,[1] and which was ultimately adopted by Rome.

"London, 29 *Jan.* 1762.

"Most Eminent Lord,

"I have read the memorial which your Eminence has done me the honour of communicating to me. In it I find weighty reasons showing the difficulty in putting into execution the rule in question, at least for all the Regulars in general. From other sources I see clearly that they are so persuaded of the moral impossibility of giving effect to the rule that there is no appearance of their intending to put it in practice. On the other hand, your Eminence will, without doubt, not consider it advisable to revoke or rescind this Rule as they ask, for fear this should give them occasion of triumph; as though it was now recognised that the decree was issued ill-advisedly. This would encourage them to take further steps, and to try to obtain the revocation of the other rules, as they wish to do. As a compromise Your Eminence might perhaps approve of this plan; namely to leave the Rule in force, but to give the Vicars Apostolic a power to dispense those whom they find in a position of not being able to make this retreat, without leaving their flocks, or those to whom this

[1] Copy of the French original in Southwark Diocesan Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 52.

retreat for other reasons would be morally impossible, and who are otherwise satisfactory. By this expedient the rule would continue in force and the execution of it could be enforced according to circumstances, especially in the case of those whose conduct and morals have need of reformation. In submitting these thoughts to the better judgment of Your Eminence, I remain, with the most profound respect and veneration,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

"RICHARD DEBOREN: V.A."

No doubt circumstances were much against the execution of the decree, particularly the continuance of the war with France, which made it very difficult for English travellers to pass to and from the Continent. In March, the Provincial of the Franciscans, Father Pacificus Baker, intimated to Propaganda that his subjects could not, during the continuance of the war, possibly obey the decree.[1]

In these circumstances the Pope adopted Bishop Challoner's suggestion to the Cardinal Prefect, and decided that the decree of Pope Benedict XIV. was to remain in full force, but that, during the war, the vicars apostolic were to have power to extend the time appointed for the regulars to return to their monasteries, under such conditions and reservations as might seem to them expedient, provided that faculties were not to be extended for more than one year at a time.[2] Here the matter again rested for some years.

While engaged in these public affairs, Bishop Challoner continued as usual his own private work, and in the course of this year, 1762, he had two books ready for publication, besides the second edition of his translation of St. Augustine's *Confessions*.[3] One of these was a translation of the *Introduction to a Devout Life*, by St. Francis of Sales, the other a book

[1] See Letter of Dr. Challoner (probably to Dr. Hornyold), Apr. 6, 1762, Westminster Archives, 1761-65.

[2] Propaganda Archives, *Lettere della S. Cong. di Prŏpda*, 1762, p. 112, March 13, 1762.

[3] It may be worth noting that in some lists of Bishop Challoner's works this 1762 edition of the *Confessions* is mentioned as though it were the original publication. Mr. Gillow in his list gives the proper date, 1740, with a query. As a matter of fact the 1740 edition is advertised in the *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, published in 1741, besides being mentioned in Dr. Challoner's letter to Lord Teynham dated July 16, 1742.

with the somewhat misleading title, *The Morality of the Bible.*

The classic work of St. Francis had long been a favourite with English Catholics, and there had been three different editions published in England even during the Saint's lifetime. Other translations had appeared from time to time, that commonly used in Dr. Challoner's time being one made about the middle of the seventeenth century, of which a new edition had been published by Thomas Meighan in 1726.

But the bishop was dissatisfied with these translations, for, as he said, "the setters forth of these latter editions, whilst they made a profession of correcting and amending the ancient translation, have taken too great a liberty in altering the words and expressions of the Saint, to the prejudice of the unction and spirit of the original: and at the same time, have been guilty of many omissions, sometimes of whole lines; as well as of many gross mistakes of the true sense and meaning of the holy prelate".

This verdict was the result of a careful comparison he made between the English translations and the last French edition which had been issued during the Saint's lifetime and which embodied his latest corrections. He was so struck with the divergency that he writes in the preface to his own edition: "we thought it necessary to set forth a new translation of this venerable work from that same corrected copy, and in it to present our British readers with the true sense and meaning of the Saint, as much as possible in the very style and words of the Saint, as most expressive of and most agreeable to the spirit of the Saint". His own translation superseded all earlier ones and has been frequently republished.

The Morality of the Bible was a not very successful attempt to provide a Meditation-book from the Holy Scriptures. The book failed to become very popular and was only twice reprinted. The bishop's plan, as explained in his preface, was "to abstract from every part of these sacred writings what appeared the most plain and the most intelligible; the most instructive and the most affective; adapting the whole as much as possible to every capacity, in order to make the meditation on the divine word both very easy and very profitable to all Christians of a good will; industriously avoiding all such hard

and obscure passages, as might be liable to be *wrested by the unlearned and the unstable to their own perdition*, (2 St. Peter iii. 16) and passing by all such as might rather exercise the brain, than enlighten the mind and enflame the heart: which is the great business of meditation and mental prayer".

In carrying out this plan he followed the order of the Bible, and from each book from Genesis to the Apocalypse he selected various passages which he interspersed with short connecting notes, which summarise into a line or two the contents of omitted chapters. He also adds short reflections of an effective and ejaculatory character. These, however, are of the simplest and most obvious kind, and the greater part of the text is occupied by the Scripture extracts. It is concluded with a table of references pointing out the chief texts on various moral subjects, similar in character to that which he had appended to the New Testament.

There yet remains to be noticed one work belonging to this period, with which Dr. Challoner's name is associated, and which proved to be of the greatest possible service to the Catholic Church in England. This was the foundation of Sedgley Park, the famous school at which so many of the clergy and laity of the Midlands received their earliest education.

Bishop Milner, who was himself an old "Parker," describes the reasons which led Dr. Challoner to establish the school, but unfortunately no records of its foundation have been preserved and its early history is very obscure. Even Provost Husenbeth in the *History of Sedgley Park School*, which he published in 1856, was unable to add much to Milner's account. According to this Dr. Challoner felt that, though he already had within his district the successful school at Standon Lordship, "another school upon a larger scale, for the education of boys whose parents were in more confined circumstances, was evidently wanted".

So much had the bishop this project at heart that he determined to sacrifice for a time the companionship of his friend and chaplain, the Rev. William Errington, to whom he entrusted the task of carrying his idea into practical effect. Opposition was not wanting. Some of the Catholic aristocracy endeavoured to dissuade the bishop from the undertaking, but

he told them that, whether they patronised it or not, it should be undertaken, and moreover that the blessing of God would be upon it and that it would prosper.[1] It was probably in this connection that the little incident occurred which Milner thus described when, speaking of various institutions founded or promoted by Dr. Challoner, he wrote:— [2]

"Certain Catholic gentlemen, being alarmed at the report of offence taken at them by false zealots, or men of no religion at all, and of troubles that might ensue in consequence of them, waited upon Bishop Challoner, and intreated him, for the sake of the common security and good of the body, to suppress the said institutions, or to lay them aside until a season of greater tranquillity. Our prelate heard all that they had to offer on this topic with great attention and respect, when, making the sign of the cross upon himself, he answered that the arguments which they had made use of to give him a bad opinion of these establishments, were precisely those which recommended them more strongly to him: 'for,' adds he, 'the old serpent would never set so many engines to work in order to overturn them, if he were not conscious of the good they are likely to produce'."

The bishop needed all his faith, for success was long in coming. It was not easy to find premises suitable for a boys' school of considerable size,—and when found it was very difficult for Catholics, owing to popular prejudice, to obtain a lease, while they were incapacitated from buying land by law. Two efforts, one in Buckinghamshire and one in Wales, alike came to nothing: but he would not give in, so a third attempt was made at Betley, near Newcastle-under-Lyme. The school was opened here in January, 1762, with the Rev. John Hurst as first master. Nothing is known as to its fortunes, but it must have promised well, for just a twelvemonth later Mr. Errington obtained from Lord Ward a lease of the mansion called Sedgley Park, situated about two miles south of Wolverhampton.

The boys were moved from Betley to Sedgley Park in a

[1] This tradition was communicated to me some years ago by the late Canon Greaney. To his written note of it he added, "Old Mrs. Shuttleworth told this to Rev. T. McDonnell". This well-known priest was a schoolboy at Sedgley Park in 1802, when traditions of the foundation were still fresh.

[2] *Life of Challoner*, p. 39.



The Rev. Hugh Kendal.

covered waggon and arrived on Lady Day, 1763, being accompanied by Mr. Hurst and received at their new home by Mr. Errington. There are eighteen names on the school list for 1762, but only twelve or thirteen seem to have been the pioneers at Sedgley Park. Soon after the school was opened rumours began to spread about this new instance of Popish encroachment. At length the matter was mentioned in Parliament, and Lord Ward, who had been recently created Viscount Dudley and Ward, found it necessary to defend his action in granting a lease to "Papists". This he did with spirit, and paid a high tribute to the character and attainments of the superiors of the School.

The time had now come to put things on a more permanent footing. Mr. Errington was wanted back in London, so in May, 1763, the Rev. Hugh Kendal was made the first president, and Mr. Hurst undertook the office of "Chaplain and Spiritual Director". Mr. Kendal, like his brother Richard, then head-master at the Standon Lordship School, had been educated at Douay, and was a clever man and good administrator. Under him the new school prospered rapidly. From March to December, 1763, there were only twenty-five new boys, but in the following year there were fifty-one. After seven years the school counted nearly one hundred, and increased accommodation became necessary. Among the Sedgley Park boys—or "Parkers"—during these first years, were John Milner, the future bishop and Newman's "English Athanasius"; John Bew, future President of Oscott and afterwards of Old Hall; Roland Broomhead, the first "Parker" to be ordained priest; John Philip Kemble, the great actor, and Stephen his brother; John Eustace, afterwards known as the author of the *Classical Tour in Italy*, and John Kirk, whose collections of papers and biographical sketches form one of the most important sources of information about the Catholics of the eighteenth century. Nor was this early promise belied by subsequent performance, for, during a century, Sedgley Park proved to be the nursery in which was trained the greater part of the clergy of the Midlands and elsewhere.

When on the 8th of September, 1863, large numbers of priests and laymen assembled to keep the centenary of their old school, Bishop Ullathorne in his address, reviewing the

manner in which the work of 100 years had been manifestly blessed by God, declared that it was impossible not at that moment to recall the image of him, who first projected the establishment of Sedgley Park, and upon whose writings the piety of Sedgley Park had mainly been nourished. And seizing the opportunity to utter a panegyric on the work of Challoner, he reminded them how "that venerable man tried in the midst of his solicitudes and anxieties to create for English Catholicity a religious literature which the speaker trusted would never die—a literature marked with a depth of piety, a solidity of erudition, and a learning which went to the very best and solidest sources, and which he had couched in a language that was pre-eminently Saxon and English,—a literature which had ever commended itself to the hearts of English Catholics".

Thus after a hundred years Sedgley Park honoured the memory of its founder, and with justice, for the establishment of this school proved one of the most blessed and lasting of his labours. It is significant that while so much else in the field of Catholic endeavour has come to an end and proved shortlived, both Bishop Challoner's schools have survived to our own days; Standon Lordship being represented by St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, and Sedgley Park by its heir, St. Wilfrid's College, Oakamoor.

The comparatively quiet times of 1762 and the preceding two years were, if Dr. Challoner had but known it. the last peace that he was to enjoy for a long period. For the seizure of St. Omer's by the French Government under circumstances to be described in full in the next chapter, led to turmoil and strife which lasted all through the following year, and 1764 brought with it a new spell of persecution, petty in itself but harassing and anxious, which continued with varying intensity for some years to come.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ST. OMER DIFFICULTY.

1762.

DURING the latter half of 1762 and the whole of the following year the peace and harmony of the English mission was shattered by events consequent on the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, a disaster which cost the English fathers of the Society all their property in that country, and involved them and the English secular clergy in new and acrimonious differences.

The confiscation of the English College at St. Omer[1] by the French Government and the transfer of its administration from the Jesuits to the seculars did fresh violence to the already strained relations between seculars and regulars, and proved a source of weary anxiety and trouble to Bishop Challoner and the other vicars apostolic, besides being a source of dissension and scandal among the laity. Bishop Hornyold, of the Midland District, writing to a correspondent on the eve of Christmas in that year,[2] said: "You cannot imagine the noise and clamours there are among us on account of the taking possession of the College at St. Omer. The good Fathers and their friends and many Catholics are shocked at it. . . . They look upon the taking away that house from the Jesuits to be unjust and of course unjustifiable in us to receive it. . . . I see plainly that keeping it will be the cause of everlasting jarrs and so totally destroy the peace of the Mission." For two years this storm raged, but even after its own force was spent, it left its results behind in embittered feeling and regrettable controversy, until

[1] The name is found in three forms. The Jesuits usually wrote "St. Omers". It was also spelt "St. Omer" and "St. Omer's".

[2] Letter to Dr. Green, President of Douay, Dec. 22, 1762, Hodgson's *Dispassionate Narrative*, p. 103.

the loss of St. Omer was merged in the greater trial that fell on the Society of Jesus, in its suppression by Pope Clement XIV. ten years later.

But while the dissension lasted both sides were busy. Letters, memorials, and pamphlets appeared in profusion; voluminous collections of documents were made and preserved as *pièces justificatives*, connected accounts were written and even published. On the side of the Society Father Ralph Hoskins compiled *A short account of the Expulsion of the English Jesuits out of S. Omer's*, and Father Joseph Reeve wrote his *Plain and Succinct Narrative of Facts Concerning the Expulsion of the English Jesuits from their College at St. Omer's;*[1] while a layman, Ralph Hodgson, taking up the case of the seculars, produced in 1768 his *Dispassionate Narrative of the Conduct of the English Clergy in Receiving from the French King and His Parliament the Administration of the College at St. Omer late under the Direction of the English Jesuits.*[2] In writing this Mr. Hodgson had access to the very large collection of papers on the subject which had been made at Douay, including more than a hundred documents.[3]

There is, therefore, ample material for tracing in outline the history of the events which gave rise to a problem fraught with such difficulty. Fortunately, at this distance of time, we are able to do so without any risk of reviving the "everlasting jarrs" which Bishop Hornyold apprehended. The striking feature about the quarrel as it presents itself after a century and a half is that all the actors in the drama seem to have been drawn into it against their will, and to have played reluctant parts, urged on by a sort of fateful necessity. Given

[1] A copy at Stonyhurst, MS. 4to, see Gillow's *Bibl. Dict.*, iv., 402. There is another copy in the Southwark Diocesan Archives.

[2] London, 1768. This extremely rare book according to the author's preface was not originally written for publication, but finding that a French translation which had been made of it was being printed, he determined to publish his original work. There are two copies in the library at Old Hall.

[3] If this collection by any chance escaped the French Revolution it may still exist in one of the Town Archives in North-East France or Belgium, where English documents are occasionally to be found, but it is not known to be extant. There is, however, a large collection of MSS. at Ushaw (Ushaw Coll. MSS., vol. ii., Nos. 56-64). A smaller one, made in Rome by Dr. Christopher Stonor, is in the Southwark Diocesan Archives (*Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 477-524), and there are numerous papers in the Westminster Archives.

the circumstances, it is difficult to see what course the secular clergy could have taken other than that which they adopted; yet granted this course, with its attendant circumstances, and it is not easy to see how the Jesuits could have avoided feeling as strongly as they did. The parties concerned realised this at least in part, and therefore at first we find the leaders on either side making considerable allowances, and fighting out their battle with forbearance on the whole. It was chiefly among their respective adherents that bitterness and mutual recrimination arose, when suspicion begat suspicion and hard things were written and said. Bishop Challoner's attitude alone is a striking commentary on the delicate nature of the situation. His innate love of peace and spirit of conciliation gave him sympathetic insight into the difficulties of either side, but as the breach widened, and he was forced along with the rest into definite action, we find him compelled by the logic of events to abandon his first standpoint, and support that course which he at first had deprecated and deplored. The fact that he ultimately approved of the transfer of St. Omer to the seculars is the more remarkable because his sympathy with the fathers of the Society in their troubles had placed him at first among their warm supporters, and he realised keenly the injustice which they were suffering at the hands of the Parliament of Paris. "I sincerely pity them," he wrote,[1] "and therefore would deal with them as tenderly as possible in this conjuncture."

The college at St. Omer had had a long and honourable history. It was founded by Father Robert Persons in 1593 to continue the work he had begun at Eu in Brittany. This latter house had been founded to meet a special difficulty. Experience had shown Father Persons the need of a college nearer than those already existing at Rome, Seville and Valladolid. If such a foundation could be established within easy reach of England, it would not only serve as a convenient house of call, but would serve the special purpose of a house of preparatory studies, where boys could follow the ordinary school course before going to their theological studies at the other colleges. It would also serve as a school for English Catholic boys who did not think of entering the priesthood, but

[1] Letter, 13 Nov., 1762, Westminster Archives, Papers, 1760-65.

whose parents desired to give them a Catholic education under the fathers of the Society.

In pursuance of this object Father Persons chose St. Omer, a town in Artois, twenty-four miles from Calais, as the most suitable spot for a new college, and collected funds for its establishment. It had many advantages, and the new foundation flourished exceedingly. In 1593 there were thirty-three boys, but ten years later there were 140 in all. English Catholics of the wealthier class sent their boys there in increasing numbers, and it remained, though not without vicissitudes, the favourite place of education for the Catholic laity of good position, and shared with Douay the work of providing a Catholic education for those who were able to leave England for that purpose. But, while Douay in addition to the usual scholastic course had schools of philosophy and theology, the curriculum at St. Omer was confined to the humanities, and when a boy had completed his studies he either returned to England as a layman, or if intending to enter the ecclesiastical state, he went to one of the other colleges for his higher studies.

The earliest days of the college are bound up with memories of the persecution; nineteen of its sons won the martyr's crown, and many more of them, even while still school-boys, passed through experiences sufficiently bitter to earn for them the honour of being confessors of the faith. Thus the college had become part of the tradition of the English Catholics, its name was written on every page of their history for well-nigh two centuries, and there were but few families among them who had not family traditions, or personal associations of the most intimate kind, with the foundation whose fortunes now came into dispute.[1]

The Society of Jesus had fallen upon evil days. This is not the place to describe the time of its troubles. Suffice to say that after a long period of phenomenal success there came a strong reaction, during which the Society was expelled from one country after another, and was finally suppressed by the Pope. In the year 1762 this process had already begun.

[1] For detailed accounts of the early history of St. Omer see *Stonyhurst College Centenary Record*, the Rev. J. Gerard, S.J. (Marcus Ward & Co., 1894), and *Stonyhurst, Its Past History and Life in the Present*, Rev. G. Gruggen, S.J., and Rev. J. Keating, S.J. (Kegan Paul, 1901).

The first blow had been struck in Portugal. In 1759 the Jesuits had been banished from that country. They were next attacked in France, where the forces arrayed against them were both varied, numerous and powerful. Their long struggle against the Jansenists had left bitterness in many places: the ridicule that had been poured on them by Pascal in his *Lettres Provinciales* was continued in vitriolic style by Voltaire who voiced the hatred of the Encyclopædists and Free-thinkers generally: at Court they had two all-powerful enemies, the king's mistress and his minister. Madame de Pompadour could never forget their cold, marked disapproval of her relations with the king, while the Duc de Choiseul had a private score to settle as well as reasons of policy to allege. The University of Paris had always viewed them with jealousy as rivals in the field of education. Finally, there were Catholics who, influenced by popular prejudice, viewed their principles and methods with distrust, and even those, who like the Archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont, were not unsympathetic, could not afford any effective shelter from the coming storm. As is well known the pretext for the attack was furnished by the Society itself. The disastrous speculations and consequent bankruptcy of the unfortunate Father Lavalette led his creditors to appeal to the Parliament of Paris which was not slow to seize the opportunity offered. After feeling its way cautiously for a time, the Parliament finally declared that an independent body having peculiar laws, and being governed by a general residing in Rome, was an institution dangerous to the State. The bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Paris, made an ineffectual effort on behalf of the fathers, but by the decree of the 6th of August, 1762, the Parliament of Paris voted the dissolution of the Society of Jesus throughout France. Their colleges were closed; their property confiscated. Two years later the king confirmed the decree, and about 4,000 Jesuits, who refused to abjure their obedience to their superiors, were driven homeless from the country.[1]

Now though the origin of the whole dissension, so far as it affected English Catholics, was this decree of the 6th of August,

[1] For history of the Suppression and the events leading up thereto, see Father Sydney Smith's series of articles in *The Month*, vol. 99 (1902).

the history of the troubles of the English Jesuits at St. Omer begins in the maze of confused scheming, plotting and rumour that lay behind in the months when the project of attacking the society was coming to maturity. Every one, of course, knew what was intended in general, though the details of the scheme were as yet vague. When the blow finally fell, every contingency had been provided for, and the ruin of the Society in France was complete. By one decree the dissolution was pronounced; by a second of even date, all Jesuits who did not immediately sever their connection with the Society were sentenced to immediate banishment, while all their property was vested in commissioners for the benefit of the creditors of the Society in general and of each particular house. There was no doubt as to the all-embracing nature of the decree, or the inexorable way in which it would be carried out.

But up to the time of publication the English fathers at St. Omer cherished hopes that, as they formed no part of the French province, they would be exempted from the operation of the decree. While they were thus buoyed up with hopes, others who did not share their optimistic view began to busy themselves with plans for the disposal of their property. The magistrates of the town conceived that the college buildings were well suited for a hospital, while the military authorities talked of the need of a magazine for corn and war-stores.[1] About the same time rumours reached Douay that a congregation of English monks expected to be entrusted with the administration of St. Omer.[2]

Meanwhile the Parliament of Paris was pursuing inquiries as to the best means of continuing the Jesuit colleges, or most of them, as places of education; and to that end was taking counsel with the chief universities as to plans of study, choice of masters, and regulations generally. Wherever a Jesuit college was situated, the local magistrates received orders to demand all title-deeds and records, and to send them to Paris for inspection.[3]

At St. Omer no title-deeds were forthcoming. Foreseeing trouble to come, the superiors had taken care that their papers, with much other valuable property, should be quietly removed

[1] Hodgson, p. 29; Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 477.
[2] *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 477. [3] Hodgson, p. 14.

out of French territory to Bruges. The local archives, however, furnished sufficient evidence that the college had been founded to provide for the education of English Catholic boys.

The committee of investigation seems to have decided at once that the college must be continued for the purpose of its foundation. This was known, or at least guessed; because incidents occurred, afterwards much insisted on by the friends of the Society, who believed that there was a dark secular conspiracy on foot to deprive the English fathers of their college, and to convert it into a secular institution. There was then living in Paris, in enforced retirement, one Dr. Holden, a Douay man who had held the office of Superior of St. Gregory's Seminary in that city.[1] The Archbishop of Paris, having allowed him to hold the position for two periods of six years, absolutely refused to tolerate him for a third term of office, so that he was compelled to retire both from his post and the seminary in 1755. While superior he had incurred suspicion on theological grounds—at least to the extent of laying himself open to the charge of imprudent conversation. Moreover, his administration of the finances was calamitous. Therefore his place was filled by another, while he continued to haunt Paris with somewhat diminished dignity, and, one gathers, insufficient resources.

To him, considering the situation with the rest of Paris, the idea presented itself that if a new president were needed for St. Omer, why not he—a Doctor of Sorbonne—as well as any other? So in these days Dr. Holden grew busy, and with the aid of a friend—a certain dim Abbé Chauvelin—came and went, actively bespeaking the interest of several members of the Parliament. Nor did his proceedings go unnoticed, for rumour and suspicion were busy in ecclesiastical circles, and the Jesuits were well aware of Dr. Holden and his plans, and in after days they remembered his activity as clear indications of the secular plot to oust and dispossess them. He was watched too in another quarter. Mgr. FitzJames, Bishop of Soissons, re-

[1] He seems to have been an obstinate man of difficult temper, suspicious and sensitive himself, while overbearing with others; "less courteous in his manners and less gentle in his temper than his amiable predecessors," says an old writer. He had even succeeded in falling out with even-tempered Alban Butler (*Cath. Mag.*, iii., 100).

membering incidents in his history, and gauging the feelings of the Paris English Catholics in his regard, determined to stop his design. Indeed, as Mr. Hodgson, who knew Dr. Holden personally, adds a little grimly, he "was pleased to take particular pains for that end". His particular pains took the shape of an interview with Abbé Chauvelin, explanations forwarded to the members of Parliament among whom the doctor had been so busy, explanations so cogent that nothing more was heard of Dr. Holden as a candidate for that post, and so he continued in eclipse till his death in 1767.[1] Nevertheless his attempt gave rise to much trouble at a later time.

While he thus failed, the name that found general acceptance was that of Thomas Talbot,—younger brother of Dr. Challoner's coadjutor. His name was first suggested by the Rev. Francis Plowden, who appears from the Westminster Archives to have been very active in the affair, and who was in close correspondence with M. Roussel de la Tour, afterwards all-powerful in this regard. Mr. Talbot clearly knew nothing of the matter till the end of July, but his qualifications for the office were marked. The distinction of his lineage made him a man of high consideration, while as a priest he was known for his zeal and holiness of life. There is something singularly beautiful about the gentle charity for which he, alike with his brother, was noted, a charity that showed itself in written and uttered words, as well as in rich and constant benefactions to the poor. Such generosity earned for James in London the title of the "good Bishop Talbot," and Thomas equalled his brother in this virtue. He was, it is true, a man of singularly retiring nature, mistrustful of himself and anxious to avoid notice. In his desire to escape responsibilities for which he believed himself unfitted, he occasionally showed a considerable degree of that sort of saintly obstinacy that sometimes marks very humble men. His self-distrust was perhaps not altogether without justification, for the consideration of his whole career, whether as President of St. Omer, coadjutor bishop, or finally Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, does indeed suggest the doubt whether with all his virtue and sweetness of temperament he had quite the

[1] See Gillow, *Bibl. Dict.*, iii., 340.

strength of will and ability requisite to meet the difficulties he had to contend with to the very end of his life. But he, like his brother, was a man of the purest aim and highest ideals; and their long disinterested service of the Church is among the brightest memories of our eighteenth century history.

By the middle of July the commissioners had decided to entrust the college at St. Omer to the English secular clergy, and to nominate Mr. Talbot as president as soon as the decree was passed expelling the Society; but they wished to know for certain that he would accept the position. According to Hodgson's account they, therefore, approached the Paris agent of Douay College, and desired him to communicate their decision to the President of Douay,[1] that he in turn might inform Mr. Talbot. This the agent did in a letter dated 17th July, 1762. It is the first in date of many documents that were to pour out in ever-broadening stream. We may consider it as the first shot of the campaign.

From the statement afterwards drawn up at Douay to be sent to Rome, which was entitled *Account of what passed in the affair of ye College of S. Omer*,[2] we learn that this was the first intimation the authorities at Douay had that the Parliament of Paris intended to entrust the college to the secular clergy. It came at an awkward moment, for the president, Dr. Green, was away in England by reason of ill-health, and the affairs of the college were being conducted by the vice-president, the Rev. William Wilkinson, a cautious man who felt that his authority was not wide enough to deal with a matter of such importance. He contented himself with forwarding the letter to Mr. Talbot, who, in the words of the account just mentioned, "was not long in answering this letter, and did it by begging he might, if possible, be excused from accepting the proposed charge".[3] In his own emphatic words,[4] "he neither would accept the proffered charge, nor ever so much as give it a thought".

By the time this disclaimer arrived at Douay the president

[1] From another relation it would seem that the agent acted on his own initiative, thinking it wise to communicate to Douay the report "as news he had from credible hands".

[2] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 477.

[3] *Loc. cit.* [4] Letter, July 31, 1762, Hodgson p. 21.

had returned and had learnt of the proposal. In the meantime, even at this early date, the opinion of Bishop Challoner had been sought, for, under date 3rd of August, Hodgson quotes a fragment of a letter addressed by the bishop to the vice-president. He took a definite and clear line, expressing his objections against the secular clergy concurring in the designs of the Parliament: "As to what we can expect from any such concurrence I can see no advantage at all. The Fathers, if expelled, will no doubt find some other place for themselves and scholars. And if we should be able to furnish scholars, it must turn out to the prejudice of Douay College, by robbing her of what ought to be hers. Neither do I see the least appearance, in this our great distress for want of hands, that we could be able to furnish the superiors and masters required." [1]

The president meanwhile saw clearly that this was a case calling for guidance from Rome. He therefore wrote to Mgr. Stonor, his agent, desiring him to impress on the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda that the authorities at Douay had had no hand directly or indirectly in any measure tending to transfer to them possessions of the English Jesuits in France.

Up to this point all had been in preparation for the pending decrees. On the 6th of August both decrees were issued. So far as French law could affect it the Society of Jesus ceased to exist in France, all property of the Jesuits was seized, and they themselves were given the alternative of secularisation or banishment. The last hopes of the English Jesuits at St. Omer were shattered. They were included in the general ruin.

So complete had been the organisation of affairs that swift action followed the publication of the decrees. The committee of councillors, which had been appointed by the Parliament, began its work at once. The day after the decrees—the 7th of August—the commissioners passed a resolution nominating Mr. Talbot, in spite of his refusal, to take interim possession of the college. The petition set forth: "that whereas by decree of parliament of the 6th of August last, the English Jesuits were dispossessed of their college at St. Omer and required to evacuate the same in the space of eight days; it be-

[1] Letter to Mr. Wilkinson, 3 Aug., 1762, Hodgson, p. 26.

came necessary to take measures for procuring the English youths, for whose education alone it was originally founded, able masters for their instruction". The petition then presented Mr. Thomas Talbot as a fit person to receive the sanction of the court, and to be put in possession of the college.

At the same time, the execution of the decree in Artois and Picardy involving the case of St. Omer, together with all other colleges in those provinces, was entrusted to a man of some note, M. Roussel de la Tour, of whom we shall hear much. He was a councillor of the Parliament of Paris, and had been associated with the Benedictines of St. Maur in the compilation of their "Abstract of the pernicious assertions of the Jesuits".[1] As revealed in his letters and the other documents in the case, he seems to have been a man of high character and real power, who in the midst of active opposition, passive resistance and obstacles of all kinds, pursued his way with imperturbable calmness until he had attained his object. An active opponent of the Jesuits, he stands before us, from the beginning of this transaction, as one who was determined to do his best for the college and to carry out the decree at all costs.

From this time forward he is the moving force,—a suave, dexterous man, bringing relentless pressure to bear in the gentlest, most inexorable manner, and overcoming all obstacles by sheer force of character. With unruffled serenity he confronts and surmounts the inaction and reluctance of the seculars, the insinuations and attacks of the Jesuits, the innate difficulties of the situation. There is no violence nor apparent effort, only a very firm determination expressed in smooth courteous phrase. But the thing, as he sees it, gets done. He is face to face with an empty college, the mere shell of a building, bereft of masters, scholars, furniture even; for the fathers succeeded ultimately in carrying off their boys and the bailiffs plundered the rest. Six months later and M. Roussel de la Tour has succeeded in luring an unwilling president-elect from England, in procuring masters from an unwilling President of Douay, in getting them to find household neces-

[1] *Extraits des assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses, que les Jésuites ont enseignées avec l'approbation des Supérieurs, verifiés par les commissaires du Parlement*, Paris, 1762.

saries, boys, rules, and, in short, by deft address, he has managed to re-establish the college, and get it in presentable working order once more. As we figure to ourselves this diplomatic counsellor, bringing order out of ruin, we may well apply to him words which Leigh Hunt wrote in a widely different connection: "Conflicting interests were his forte; pig-headed wills and proceedings hopeless. To see the hand with which he did it! How hovering, yet firm; how encouraging, yet compelling; how indicative of the space on each side of him, and yet of the line before him; how general, how particular, how perfect!"

Such was the man who now directed affairs. The Jesuits were still in the college with eight days in which to disappear. There were still boys there whom M. Roussel wished to retain, but who preferred to follow their own masters across the frontier when the time came, though that contingency had not at the moment occurred.

It was on the 9th of August that the boys were called together by their superiors and informed as to the state of affairs. Without exception all decided to follow their masters, and their adventurous journey to Bruges began. Without luggage of any kind, and carrying nothing to excite suspicion, they left the college in detachments as if on walking parties. But these walking parties never returned. To disarm the suspicions of the authorities, the usual amount of provisions was sent in to the college, while all the time the fugitives were well on their way to the frontier. They reached Bruges safely on the 11th of the month, no one at St. Omer being yet the wiser. The vice-rector, Father Lawson, with a few other fathers retained possession of the deserted college.

Their flight when known to M. Roussel annoyed that functionary considerably and he got small comfort from the other elements of the situation. Mr. Talbot was still in England recalcitrant; and the Parliament had not yet passed the decree empowering him to take possession. Douay was silent, waiting its answer from Rome. There was an ominous pause, broken only by a letter, not without significance, which Dr. Green thought well to write, and which M. Roussel would have strongly disapproved of, could he have read it. Dr. Green on the 12th of August writes a letter "civil and

friendly"[1] to Father Corby, the Provincial of the English Jesuits, saying "that he was truly concerned at the misfortunes of the Society, and that no other motive could induce him to supply the College of S. Omer with masters, etc. but a view of preserving it in English hands for the benefit of the Catholic Religion, and of returning it again with true pleasure in case hereafter more favourable times called them back to that place". He even added, according to an account written on behalf of the Society, that "if an offer of the college should be made to them they would never accept of it, no not even in trust, without the Jesuits' consent".[2]

Nothing whatever came of the civil and friendly letter, however, for, as was duly noted at Douay, "F. Provincial was very long in answering this letter, and when he wrote to Mr. President about a month or six weeks after, it was quite foreign to the subject that had been mentioned to him".[3] So the pause continued until the 7th of September when Parliament passed its decree and Mr. Talbot was authorised to take possession.

But Mr. Talbot was still in England, apparently not intending to take possession at all; at any rate making no sign; while on the other hand, the Jesuit fathers, though their eight days had long since expired, were still installed in the college and showed no sign of moving. They had received magistrates' orders not to stir till the money, which had been allowed them by Parliament, was paid to them,—which, as yet, it had not been. It was afterwards suggested that this was a mere device of the diplomatic counsellor to retain the fathers in command of the college until he was ready to replace them with other superiors. At any rate, it was noted as a curious coincidence that when his new superiors appeared to hand, many weeks later, and he was ready for the fathers to depart, the money was forthcoming at once. Till this happened, however, the state of affairs at St. Omer did not move. M. Roussel de la Tour waited patiently all the early September

[1] Douay Account, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 478. Copy of a Memorial, *ibid.*, p. 507.

[2] Copy of a Memorial, *loc. cit.* This document which was written on behalf of the Society is said to have been sent to the Propaganda. In his copy of it Mgr. Stonor expresses his belief that it was not drawn up for any such purpose, but was intended for public perusal.

[3] The Douay Account, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 478.

days for his new president to be informed of the decree; the fathers, expecting their money, were also allowed to wait.

On the 16th of September, the vice-rector received a letter addressed to the Superior of the English Clergy at St. Omer. This proved to be an official letter addressed to the President of Douay, desiring him to inform Mr. Talbot of his appointment: the blunder of a clerk having caused the muddle in the address. However, Father Lawson forwarded it at once to Douay, adding the assurance that he would give a cordial welcome to Mr. Talbot on his arrival. These kind words were understood at Douay as implying that the fathers at St. Omer were not unwilling for the seculars to replace them in the circumstances of their own unavoidable departure. Thus up to this point good relations were subsisting. The letter of Dr. Green to Father Corby, and that of Father Lawson to Dr. Green, alike show a friendly spirit; while, as we have seen, both the President at Douay and Bishop Challoner in London, to say nothing of Mr. Talbot himself, were averse to taking over the college, if it could be avoided.

Meanwhile Dr. Green had received his answer from Rome. Mgr. Stonor wrote that Cardinal Spinelli was of opinion that in case the English Jesuits should totally and irrecoverably lose their college, there could be no reason why the English secular clergy should not accept it, for the same purposes, in case it should be offered to them.[1]

It was precisely on this last point, however, that difference of opinion arose. On behalf of the Society it was urged that the work which had been carried on at St. Omer would now be carried on at Bruges in a new establishment, and that therefore the English Mission would lose no educational advantage, while, as to the college and its funds, nothing could justify the seculars in taking possession of property wrongfully alienated from others. It was this latter view which, as we shall see, for a time impressed Bishop Challoner, and from this moment difference of opinion among English Catholics as to the action of the seculars began to be freely expressed, gathering in force and bitterness as the controversy continued and finding new material for resentment in each fresh event as it occurred.

[1] Hodgson, pp. 33, 34.

Nor is the depth and intensity of feeling aroused to be wondered at, when we remember that many of the Catholic noblemen and gentlemen had received their education at St. Omer and were bound to it by many ties of association and affection; that many had relations and friends in the Society and that priests of the Society were labouring in all parts of England, particularly in Lancashire, so that their adherents and sympathisers were influential and numerous. Small wonder that Bishop Challoner in the London District and Bishop Hornyold in the Midlands, watching the growing storm, shook their heads with apprehension at worse evils, and openly disapproved of the secular clergy taking possession of the confiscated college.

On the other hand, there were many in England who did not love the Society, and who were ready, not only to regard their misfortune lightly, but to urge the view that the college was founded for the benefit of English Catholics as a body; that the administration only had been entrusted to the Jesuits, and that now their administration had been brought to an end it was the duty of the seculars to save the college for the sake of the mission. On the other hand, the Jesuits could urge much with justice against this view, so there was large scope for controversy and recrimination.

At this juncture the Jesuits in England thought it would be wise to obtain from Catholics, both clergy and laity, some sort of declaration disavowing the transfer of the college to the secular clergy. Mr. Maire was sent to Bishop Challoner with a copy of the declaration, with the result that the bishop wrote a letter which is valuable as being a clear and definite account of his views at this time.[1]

"To Mr. D[ennet] Provincial S.J.

"Nov. 1762.

"SIR,

"Mr. Maire brought me the other day a kind of declaration which he said you desired should be signed by me and many others, as well of the Clergy as of the laity, through-

[1] The original draft is in the Westminster Archives, *Letter-Book*, fo. 63. Father James Dennet, S.J., was Provincial from 1762 to 1766.

out the kingdom with regard to the College of St. Omer, for your and your brethren's satisfaction, as he said, and for the better maintaining of peace and concord amongst us; which no one, I am sure, more earnestly desires than myself and my brethren; or would more willingly and effectually concur to by such means and measures as are consonant with justice, truth and Christian prudence. As to the form of the declaration, as drawn up and presented to me by the gentleman above mentioned, I must own I can by no means approve of it, because it makes the body of the English Clergy a party in the late *seizure*, as it is there termed, of the College of St. Omer, with its estate and effects: whereas the body of the English Clergy and their superiors, the Bishops, have indeed been no ways concerned [in] it: nor did the Pope give it to them, but to one particular private priest, and that only *per provision* with power to put in masters, but without being restrained in the choice of them to the body of the clergy.

"As to the proposal in general of such a public declaration, I cannot help apprehending that it would be liable to great inconveniences; the more because it could not fail of making a great noise both at home and abroad, with danger of hurting the common cause of religion, instead of answering [the] desired ends, and very possibly occasioning loss of the College for ever, or putting it in hands in which neither you nor we should wish it.

"As to the rest, as I shall be glad to give you all satisfaction in my power as to my own sentiments and dispositions with relation to this whole affair, I take this occasion to lodge in your hands the following declaration as a perpetual testimony of these my sentiments. I say, then, that so far from having any hand, directly or indirectly, in depriving the English Jesuits of their College at St. Omer and its appurtenances, I never once admitted so much as the first thought of desiring they should be deprived of it, but on the contrary have been all along, and am still, very sorry at its being taken away from them: and if I had the disposal of it in my power, declare that it should be again immediately put into their hands.

"2. I am also fully convinced in my conscience that the proceedings against them with relation to their expulsion out of the College above mentioned are unjustifiable.

"3. I further declare that [I] do not think it safe in conscience for any person or persons to accept of the premises, which appear evidently to me to have been unjustly taken away, with any other intention or disposition than that of restoring them again to the right owners, the former possessors, as soon as it can be safely done: and I am fully persuaded that such is the intention and disposition of the Honourable N.N. [Thomas Talbot] who, as I am assured, would not have accepted of that College at all, but with a view of keeping it from being lost to the English Mission, he having himself no private interest in accepting of it, being rather like to be at great charges to maintain it."

Dr. Challoner made no secret of these views, though they were unpopular with some of the more uncompromising of his clergy, and it is an indication of the party-feeling, which was aroused, that this is the only action of his life which evoked any hostile criticism among his own priests or people.

Meanwhile the President of Douay, aware of the growing feeling in England, and of the fact that two at least of the vicars apostolic were averse to anything savouring of co-operation with the plans of the Paris Government, would doubtless have preferred to let the matter drop, unless the Provincial had given his consent to the temporary occupation of the college. But he, again, was affected by forces not felt directly by the Catholics in England. For the sake of his own college at Douay it was improtant that he should keep on good terms with the civil authorities in Paris, and now steady pressure was brought to bear on him from that city, with intimations in courteous terms—not entirely free from hints as to possible consequences in the event of non-compliance,—that it would be well for the decree to be complied with promptly.

Above all, there was calm, determined M. Roussel de la Tour, who, while regretting the difficulties of other people, had no intention of allowing them to stand in his own way. At the present moment, nearly a fortnight after the passing of the decree, he had nothing more than a polite, vague letter from the President of Douay to the commissioners, intimating that Mr. Talbot was still in England, and "that as Mr. Talbot was usually subject to the most violent and alarming disorders at sea, it was not probable he would venture to pass by the way of

Holland, and therefore could not be expected in France till the communication should be opened betwixt Dover and Calais".[1] And as the Seven Years' War was still continuing, and there was no hope as yet of the Peace of Paris, which was ultimately signed in the following year, the commissioners got small comfort from that.

On the 21st of September M. Roussel de la Tour got to work. From inquiries he had made, he had learnt of the existence of the small preparatory school at Esquerchin just outside Douay, which had been founded some ten years before by Bishop James Talbot, for boys who were thought too young for the English College. This school was presided over by the Rev. Henry Tichborne Blount, an English secular priest of good family and a man of some attainments. In this school and its master, the diplomatist saw his opportunity, and he followed it up with vigour. On the 21st of September he wrote to Dr. Green[2] proposing that the commissioners should nominate him (Dr. Green) to represent Mr. Talbot, and to govern the college at St. Omer until his arrival. On the following day he writes to Mr. Blount[3] suggesting that he should become Vice-President of St. Omer, and, if Dr. Green were prevented by his illness from representing Mr. Talbot, should take possession of the college in that capacity.

A further advantage present to the diplomatic mind was that if Mr. Blount accepted the position he would probably be induced to transfer his boys bodily to St. Omer. Close on the letters came definite action, for within a week the commissioners, without waiting for replies from Douay and Esquerchin, passed a decree appointing Dr. Green supervisor, and empowering him, or such person as he should nominate for that purpose, to take possession of the college.

But Douay and Esquerchin alike held back. Dr. Green had written that he was too aged and infirm to undertake the charge of a new college, while Mr. Blount not only absolutely refused the position of vice-president, but declined even to represent Mr. Talbot, except so far as to take possession in his name. The receipt of the new decree produced no alteration

[1] Dr. Green's Letter to M. Joly de Fleury, Hodgson, p. 43.
[2] Hodgson, p. 46; *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 479. [3] Hodgson, p. 46.



The Rev. Henry Tichborne Blount.

in their attitude, but on the other hand their attitude had no effect whatever on M. Roussel de la Tour and the other commissioners, who, "though with reason surprised to see the English clergy had so little zeal to enter into the views of the Parliament in their favour at so decisive a juncture," were only the more determined to carry the matter through. More coercion, firm yet gentle, was applied. Suave letters from M. Roussel were accompanied by certain ominous intimations as to the future sent through a correspondent in Paris friendly to the President of Douay, one "in whom he reposed the greatest confidence".[1] Thus were the reluctant ones urged forward, no hint of unpleasantness to be gleaned from M. Roussel, if only the friendly correspondent had not been muttering in the background. M. Roussel, ignoring Mr. Blount's refusal of office, thanked him effusively for undertaking to receive possession for Mr. Talbot, begged that, if Dr. Green were not well enough to go to St. Omer in person, he would at least appoint a proper person to govern the college in the new president's absence, and fill the professors' chairs. Cheerfully continuing as though they were most eager, instead of most reluctant in the business, he pointed out that there was no time to be lost, that the decree would be passed on the 5th or 6th of October[2] and despatched to St. Omer on the following day, and that therefore Mr. Blount ought to set out for St. Omer in good time so as to be on the spot when the decree arrived. He remarked encouragingly in conclusion that the commissioners were quite determined to bring the business to a successful issue, and would give the new college all the assistance needed.

And yet so much cordial encouragement and bland persistence in taking for granted more than had been intended, might even so have failed, had it not been for the warning voice of the friendly correspondent urging from behind: "Further delays would ruin all, and that the persons to be dealt with at Paris had it in their power, if neglected, to be instruments hereafter of much trouble and vexation to the clergy themselves: that it would be time enough after posses-

[1] This was probably Dr. Charles Howard, President of St. Gregory's Seminary, Paris.

[2] The decree was actually made on the 5th of October. See printed copy in the Westminster Archives, Papers, 1760-65.

sion had been taken to consider how far it might be made useful, but that at present a compliance with Parliament seemed a step at once the most prudent and justifiable".[1]

It was enough. Mr. Hodgson, writing of M. Roussel's letter, says: "So absolute an injunction, attended with circumstances so alarming to the whole body of the clergy, caused Dr. Green to take the affair seriously to heart".

The result as we know from the Douay account, probably written by Mr. Blount himself, was that both capitulated to M. Roussel and the inevitable. "He therefore went to St. Omer, and Mr. President, being then pretty well in health, accompanied him."[2]

They arrived at St. Omer on Wednesday, the 6th of October, at noon, only to meet with a series of vexatious delays which kept them from getting to business for nearly a month. A detailed account of the various technical obstacles raised by various officials need not be given, as it would draw out the story to an unwarrantable length. Suffice to say that by the aid of frequent recourse to M. Roussel and his skilful intervention all were successfully overcome, though at the cost of three or four weeks' delay.

Meanwhile, Father Lawson and his companions remained in possession, and their relations with Dr. Green and Mr. Blount were very cordial. "F. Lawson with a few of his brethren was still at ye College, and Mr. Blount frequently visited and was visited by him; and he very edifyingly declared he and Brethren were glad their College was confided to their friends and countrymen."[3]

At length the time for the departure of the Jesuits arrived. M. Roussel's hopes of retaining some of their scholars had been frustrated. On the 15th of October Mr. Blount wrote to him explaining that the scholars had been withdrawn some time before. There only remained Father Lawson and a few of the fathers. The sums of money due to them were now paid, and on Tuesday, the 19th of October, they set out for Bruges. Thus St. Omer passed out of the hands of the Society after more than a century and a half, though its history as a

[1] Letter from Dr. H—— (Dr. Howard, President of St. Gregory's, Paris), Oct. 2, Hodgson, p. 50.

[2] The Douay Account, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 480.

[3] Douay Account, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 480.

Jesuit College was to be continued at Bruges and Liège until, returning to English soil, it was enabled to renew its youth at Stonyhurst, in which place it has already entered on a second century of vigorous life.

Meanwhile the commissioners' plans had broken down in an unexpected quarter with disastrous results. M. Roussel knew that Mr. Blount was at St. Omer on the 19th of October, but he did not know in time to obviate it, that another difficulty had arisen. The local authorities had declined to put Mr. Blount in possession, on the ground that the decree only authorised him to appoint the masters who were to undertake the different offices in the colleges. This, of course, could not be done on the spot, and the college remained under nominal charge of the bailiffs, becoming the scene of most outrageous proceedings. The premises were thrown open, the cellars plundered, the furniture rifled, sold or given away.

Difficulties seemed accumulating on M. Roussel's hands: the college was now not only empty but robbed; the decree could not be enforced, because Dr. Green had returned to Douay, and the immediate appointment of professors was impossible without his consent, even if he could spare them from the English College there; Mr. Blount was making a piteous appeal to be released from such a position, and threatening to return immediately to Douay. Things seemed almost at their worst when they suddenly mended and within ten days the troubles were over. On the 23rd of October the Vice-President of Douay arrived with promise of the necessary professors; on the 25th the bishop of the diocese wrote a kind letter promising his favour and protection; and finally on the 29th came two priests and three theological students from Douay to be nominated to the vacant offices. All formalities were complied with, and, on the same day, the feast of Venerable Bede, Mr. Blount and his companions took possession of the college on behalf of the secular clergy.

Three aged and infirm Jesuits—two priests and a lay-brother[1]—remained in the infirmary, being too feeble to be

[1] The last of these died 7th Nov., 1764. This was Father Levinus Brown, the friend of Pope, who was ninety-four years of age when he died (*Foley Records*, Series v.-viii., 542). The seculars always strenuously denied the charge brought against them of neglecting these venerable and unfortunate old men, and cited the parish priest and local doctor as witnesses to the contrary.

moved, and they continued there well tended till they died. For the rest the house was bare and despoiled. Mr. Blount wrote to M. Roussel on the following day: "It is a dismal sight to behold this fine College unfurnished and deserted. I shall not cease to implore the Almighty that the change which is now made, may succeed to the benefit of my country: for in hopes of that alone have I unwillingly complied with what the *arrêt* required on my part." [1]

Three days later, on All Souls Day, Mr. Blount, with Mr. Wilkinson and the three divines, returned to Douay leaving the two priests in charge of the empty buildings.

It is not to our purpose to relate how the college was repeopled and the waste was made good; how M. Roussel with patient persistence overcame further delays and hindrances, which tried even his determination, and how finally masters and boys were successfully installed. Early in November Mr. Talbot managed to get a pass which enabled him to cross from Dover to Calais, and, after a flying visit to the empty college at St. Omer, he went on to Douay where he stayed while the final arrangements were made.

Here, for the time, matters rested so far as the college at St. Omer itself was concerned; but news of the latest developments of the affair had now reached England, and throughout the following year feeling ran high upon the subject. In this discussion Bishop Challoner from his position could not fail to become personally involved, and through the greater part of 1763 we shall find him much occupied and disturbed by this harassing question.

[1] Letter from the Rev. H. Tichborne Blount to M. Roussel, 30 Oct., 1762, cited by Hodgson, p. 62.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ST. OMER DIFFICULTY—(*Continued*).

1763.

But while there was a lull at the centre and subject of these dissensions the angry strife in England went from bad to worse. The difficulties surrounding the question, perplexing enough in themselves, were not diminished by the violent party-spirit shown on either side.

From the time the Jesuits left St. Omer this party-spirit ran high, and all through the autumn and the following spring there was an interminable stream of suspicions, reports, allegations and counter-charges, explanations and defences that more than justified Bishop Hornyold's fears of "everlasting jarrs".

Bishop Challoner, ever anxiously concerned to maintain peace, wrote as early as November: "The *padri* particularly are at present very uneasy for the loss of the College of St. Omer, for which I sincerely pity them and therefore would deal as tenderly as possible with them in this conjuncture, and should be very sorry that any of ours should seem to rejoice or triumph on the occasion, which would be both very uncharitable and highly imprudent, and might be of bad consequence with regard to the peace of the mission and the honour of the clergy; as it could not fail of being resented by all the friends of those gentlemen."[1]

About this time the particular grievances of the Jesuits began to be definitely formulated. The two main contentions on which their case rested seem to have been indicated by Father Lawson in a letter which he wrote to M. Roussel de la Tour at the end of October, that is, within a fortnight after he left St. Omer. This at least is to be gathered from the letter

[1] Letter dated Nov. 13, 1762, Westminster Archives, Papers, 1760-65.

of M. Roussel to the authorities of St. Omer, which we have already referred to,[1] and from that which he addressed to the President of Douay.[2]

The charge brought against the secular clergy was so serious that, if true, it would justify the severest censures: but it is so inconsistent with what we now know were the views and intentions of the chief persons concerned, that those, who in the first distress of a heavy loss were induced to believe it and repeat it, would assuredly acquit the secular priests concerned of such an accusation, if they had had before them the evidence now so abundant in our archives.

The charge in brief amounted to this: that the Parliament of Paris had intended to exempt the English Jesuits from their decree of suppression, and that the Fathers would thus have been allowed to keep their college at St. Omer, if some of the English clergy had not by intrigue and solicitations dissuaded the Parliament from making any exception in their favour. In the memorial on behalf of the Jesuits, which came into the hands of Mgr. Stonor, the clergy agent at Rome, and which, whether it was ever presented to Propaganda or not, gives a fair presentation of their case, the charge is thus formulated:—

"From ye very beginning of the present unfortunate troubles in France undoubted information was given, that the Parliament of Paris had received an application from certain English clergymen, who desired to be put into possession of ye English College of S. Omers, and that the Parliament seemed inclined to grant ye petition. This was a bold unwarrantable step, and as such was disowned by the heads of the clergy. However it must be said that from that moment, they have never

[1] "J'ai reçu à la fin du mois d'Octobre une lettre du cydevant Recteur du Collège Anglois de S. Omer, nommé Lawson, dont je ne pensois nullement devoir vous parler: mais comme les mêmes artifices contenus dans sa lettre s'insinuent dans votre ville, et autres de votre Province, je crois qu'il est convenable de vous prémunir contre de pareilles insinuations." Lettre aux Officiers de S. Omer. Copy in Westminster Archives, 1760-65, and in *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 491.

[2] "Aiant été instruit par plusieurs endroits des faussetés et calomnies que repand et fait repandre le cydevant Recteur Lawson dont je n'ai pu méconnaître la source, attendu leur parfaite conformité avec la lettre que j'ai reçu de luy le 26, Octobre dernier, j'ai cru devoir prémunir contre de pareilles insinuations les officiers de St. Omer." Lettre à M. Green, Presid. du collège Anglois a Douai. *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 496, and Westminster Archives

lost view of this object, tho' obliged by different circumstances to pursue different measures to obtain it." [1]

This point of view is expressed with more precision in the copy of an unsigned letter now in the Westminster Archives.

"As you give me leave, my dear Sir, to send you my Sentiments on the late proceedings at St. Omer, I shall do it as briefly and modestly as I can and hereafter trouble you no more with a subject which must be equally unpleasing to us both.

"I am assured, and, I think, on the best authority that the Parliament of Paris was induced chiefly by Lady Webb's good offices to exempt the English College from the ruin to which the rest were doomed. . . . This favour did not take place, as one of the Presidents assured the Lady their Advocate, on account of certain informations brought in against them, by some of the most respectable persons of the Clergy of their own Nation.

"I have lately seen a letter from Doctor Green in which he assigns the following reasons for his conduct, that if they had not accepted the first offer made by the Parliament, they might, perhaps, not have had a second, that having got possession, they should have leisure to consider if it was to their advantage to keep or give it up. The only doubts are whether this Settlement will not thin Douay house, and if the Pope will approve of the proceeding. All his motives, as you see, are founded on convenience, and selfish considerations without any regard to justice, charity or Religion. . . .

"Mr. Hornyold has wrote to Dr. Green, the Christian and prudential reasons for which he disapproves and condemns the whole affair. I have seen the letter. We are likewise assured that Mr. Chalenor is in the same sentiments, they are agreeable to his long approved virtue and moderation, Mr. James Talbot's good sense and integrity will not allow me to doubt of his, and I should do an injury to your piety and disinterestedness, had I not the like opinion of yours."

To realise the grounds that had been given for such suspicions we have only to recall the canvassing activities of Dr. Holden among the members of the parliament in the days before the decree was passed. If the Jesuit fathers, at a time

[1] *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 505-15.

when they still had hopes of saving their historic college, and influencing Parliament in its behalf, were aware that Dr. Holden and Abbé Chauvelin were busy on such errands as they were, it is scarcely surprising that they drew wider deductions than the circumstances strictly warranted. Dr. Holden was a secular priest of good position who had held an office of considerable responsibility and distinction, and it was easier to see in his action evidence of intrigue on behalf of the body to which he belonged, than mere self-interest of a somewhat unworthy type. The memory of old Douay troubles and contests between Jesuits and seculars would easily give plausibility to the suggestion, and once the idea took root it found support and gained strength in every incident. Actions and persons were alike interpreted and judged on the basis of this supposition, with the result that men, who, as far as we can see, were all in good faith, were led into excesses of mutual suspicion, and imputations of the most unworthy motives were freely indulged in. The brunt of the attack naturally fell on those priests who, although unwillingly, had in fact taken the leading parts in accepting the college. Men of the highest personal character such as Thomas Talbot and Henry Tichborne Blount, thus suffered for the indiscretions of Dr. Holden, and found themselves held responsible for deep-laid schemes of which they were entirely innocent, while their best intentioned acts were construed as part of a base and treacherous plot.

Bishop Challoner, while disapproving of the taking over of the college by Dr. Green, Mr. Talbot, Mr. Blount, or any other of the secular clergy, knew at least that there was no foundation for the accusations brought against them, or the motives attributed to them, and later on we shall find him writing on this subject with more asperity than was usual with him.

Another allegation, which made stronger appeal to the ever-sensitive conscience of the bishop, was that the secular clergy could not, without sin, acquire property which had been unjustly alienated from the Jesuits. This point, frequently urged, seemed to him of such importance that he placed it in the foreground of the difficulties which, he considered, arose out of the whole situation. On the 23rd of December, he wrote to the President of Douay with a formal list of these

difficulties intimating his view that Propaganda should at once be consulted on the subject.

How strongly he felt in the matter appears from the letter sent by Dr. Green to the Roman agent, in which he forwarded a copy of the bishop's queries. The president writes:—

"In my last I told you how violent Bishop Challoner is against our keeping possession, and if all our Bishops, and the chief of our Brethren in England had been of his mind we should have resigned long ago, and never troubled Rome about it. At present I send you a copy of his queries which he says may be presented to Cardinal Spinelli if we please; but seems to think we shall not act fairly if all the circumstances he mentions be not fully explained."[1]

The wording of the queries certainly recalls the language of an advocate addressing the jury rather than the calmness of one proposing points for the consideration of the court. The first four of the eight queries discuss the action of the French Parliament, the last four raise points touching the lawfulness of taking possession at all, and the effects of such possession on the clergy and laity, the mission and Douay respectively. It is these latter which are more to our immediate purpose. In these last four queries the bishop asks:—

"5. Whether it can be agreeable to honesty and justice, to the Canon Law, and Church authority, to the respect we owe to ye H. See, and the zeal we ought to have for religion, to what we owe to our own character, and to the edification of ye faithful for any of us to accept of (without ye consent of ye parties injured) what has been taken away by a manifest violation of honesty and justice, of Church authority, and Religion, and an open contempt of the constitutions of ye H. See?

"6. Whether any supposed or real advantage (if there could be any in such acquisitions) either to the English Mission, or to Douay Colleage, can justify any of ours concurring with the unjustifyable measures of the Parliament by accepting of what they have tyrannically and sacrilegiously taken away?

"7. Whether this seizure and possession is like to contribute to the peace of ye Mission, or whether it is not much

[1] Letter, Dr. Green to Christopher Stonor, 31 Dec., 1762, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 484.

more likely, as we already experience it to be, a perpetual bone of contention?

"8. What benefit is this possession like to bring to our Alma mater, if she must furnish it with masters and scholars? It must visibly tend to her hurt: so it must if such as otherwise would have gone to her, must be diverted to S. Omers?

"If in the answer to these queries we should not be all of one mind, we cannot do better than clearly and explicitly to refer the whole matter to Hilton, explaining all the circumstances: in which case we may safely follow what they shall decide after hearing the matter fairly stated, but not otherwise."

These queries were sent to Dr. Green in a letter bearing date the 23rd of December, 1762.

A week later Mr. H. Tichborne Blount writes to his brother, Michael Blount of Mapledurham, to say that he is informed that "the Clergy's being put in possession of the English College at St. Omer's . . . causes a variety of talk in England," and that he had therefore decided to write a full account of the whole transaction, "that you may know what judgment to form of the many stories you have or may hereafter hear, and escape being imposed upon, either by the malice or ignorance of others". This account agrees in all particulars with the story as we have it from the other sources. It still exists in the archives at Oscott, and is valuable as being a connected account by one of the principals engaged in the transaction.[1]

In the following February he wrote again to his brother on the same subject, adding nothing more except that Rome was not displeased with their proceedings, and concluding with the fair and common-sense view: "The poor Jesuits are doubtless to be pitied, but since the civil power will be rid of them, the Pastors of the Church must see that others supply the functions for the public good. Many falsehoods regarding us have been set about, but truth will prevail at last, and all thinking people must certainly refrain from condemning what Rome approves."[2]

[1] Letter, Dec. 30, 1762, Kirk Papers, *Collectanea Anglo-Catholica*, i., 187-94.

[2] *Ibid.* Both letters mentioned above were printed with notes by the Rev. J. L. Whitfield, M.A., in *The Oscotian*, vol. iii., No. 3, July, 1903.

Bishop Challoner's attitude was by no means shared by others, and drew on him much criticism. His own coadjutor held opposite views, though he carefully refrained from allowing this to be made known,[1] while Mr. Walton, the bishop's old friend and a priest much trusted by him, wrote of his line of action with some bitterness:[2] "Some of ours think Mr. Challoner begins to relent, which they gather from expressions that he drops about keeping the College of S. Omer's till we see what Mrs. Hilton [Rome] says to the matter. For my own part I suspect he has sent such a representation of the affair to that lady that he makes no doubt of receiving an answer to his own way of thinking, so that I take his present seeming acquiescence to be only a cover to amuse till he sees the effect of his remonstrances. I hope care has been taken to send a *true state of the case* to the same lady that we may not be oppressed by misrepresentations; I can call it no better than misrepresentations to lay the main stress of the question on the justice of Parliament's proceedings which is Mr. Challoner's topick."

A month later we find Mr. Blount writing in more guarded terms from Esquerchin:[3] "It seems to me a pity Mr. Challoner was so hasty in taking his resolution and letting ye world know it. Had he suspended his judgment till fully informed of the real state of affairs it might perhaps have been better. It grieves me to hear so respectable a name cited against ye proceedings of persons whom he must be convinced have had no other aim than ye good of Religion. Mr. Talbot's fate in this respect is particularly hard. But perhaps the good Bishop is guided by superior lights. If he has writ to Hilton against ye affairs it is probable ye College must be surrendered."

The agent in Rome, Dr. Stonor, who deplored the bishop's

[1] "Bishop Talbot (who nevertheless must not be named) approves both of our taking and keeping possession." Letter, Dr. Green to Mgr. Stonor, 7 Jan., 1763, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 502.

[2] Letter, Mr. Walton to Dr. Green, 30 Dec., 1762, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 490. Possibly Mr. Walton's temporary irritation with one whom he loved and respected may be partly accounted for by the concluding words of his letter, "my nerves being but bad".

[3] Letter to Alban Butler, 21 Jan., 1763, Westminster Archives, Papers, 1760-65.

action in the matter, and who, later on, sent him a long letter of respectful remonstrance thereon,[1] attributed his attitude to the direct influence of the Jesuits. Writing to Dr. Green [2] he said: "If Dr. Challoner is not satisfied, I suspect 'tis because his charitable and perhaps over peaceable disposition makes him not sufficiently on his guard against the malicious insinuations of designing people."

But though Dr. Challoner found himself in disagreement with many of the secular clergy, he was far from pleased with the conduct of the Jesuits in attacking Mr. Talbot. The following letter, written to Bishop Hornyold on the 20th of January, 1763, is valuable as giving his views at this juncture in his own words:[3] "You know what have been my sentiments from the beginning with regard to the affair of Saint Omer, with which I am glad that you coincide, yet I must say that those gentlemen, who make such clamours on this occasion (contrary to what their superiors here have promised us) against Mr. Talbot, either are strangers to the true state of the question, or greatly wrong this worthy gentleman. The true state of the question is not whether the clergy or the Jesuits should possess that house, but whether upon supposition of its being taken away from the Jesuits (in which I am certain Mr. Talbot had no manner of hand, directly or indirectly) it is better for Mr. Talbot to take present possession of it, in order to preserve it for the benefit of the English Mission, with an intention of giving it up again, when the right owner can safely be readmitted; or to refuse the acceptation of it, with evident danger of it being given up to plunder, as the neighbouring houses of the Jesuits have been, and to its being lost for ever, both to the Jesuits and the English Mission. Mr. Talbot, you know, is a man of a most amiable character. His going abroad was far from being by his own inclination, and with no design of doing any wrong to any one; on the contrary, with an express intention of doing nothing without being clear of acting with a safe conscience, and with the consent and approbation of the Holy See. The case at present is referred

[1] *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 61-63, 15th March, 1763.

[2] Letter to Dr. Green, Jan. 11, 1763, quoted in the latter's letter to Bp. Hornyold, 18th Feb., 1763, Westminster Archives, 1760-65.

[3] Westminster A chives, 1761-65.

to the judgment of Superiors there: in the meantime he keeps off from Saint Omer, and waits for the decision of Hilton: which in the diversity of opinions, I believe it will be best for all of us to wait for."

Mr. Talbot himself felt very keenly these aspersions on his honour, as appears from the memorial which he forwarded to Propaganda from Douay at this very time. "With the greatest grief he has learnt that his good dispositions and intentions have been represented in the most evil and invidious light, and that he has been openly accused of rapacity and disobedience to the commands of Your Holiness."[1]

While waiting at Douay for an answer from Rome, he was anxious to obtain direct guidance from the bishops in England. On the 15th of February, he, being still at Douay, wrote urgently to his brother, Bishop James, explaining that he had received a very pressing letter from M. Roussel de la Tour who wrote to say that if the college were not reopened in a short space, it would in all likelihood be turned to other uses.[2]

Mr. Talbot, feeling that the position was critical, says: "I shall send him an answer to-morrow. But must conjure and entreat your good Mr. Challoner etc., etc., to let me know whether you will have me proceed or not. If I had known of any opposition in our parts I should certainly have acquainted you therewith. That there should be opposition on any side except one is to me matter of the greatest astonishment. I have all the promise of concurrence and assistance from A.M.[3] that I can wish and desire; there are assurances of protection from higher powers, above what could be expected or hoped for, we have ye King's word that Letters patent will be granted and we have I could say a deal more."

It does not appear what answer he received to this appeal, but four days before it was written—that is, on the 11th of February—Bishop Challoner had at last written to Propaganda the letter which, as we have seen, both Mr. Blount and Mr. Walton considered would prove so prejudicial to the cause

[1] Memorial given in at Propaganda in the name of Mr. Thomas Talbot, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 481-83.

[2] Westminster Archives, Papers, 1760-65.

[3] *i.e.*, *Alma Mater* (Douay). The College was often referred to by its own *alumni* simply as *Alma*.

they had at heart. Though the letter is long we here translate it in full as it gives the bishop's view of the situation in the most explicit and authoritative way.

"MOST EMINENT AND MOST REVEREND FATHER,

"In order that I may with sincerity and humility open my mind on the subject of this affair touching the English College of S. Omer, which has been lately taken from the Jesuits and offered by the parliament of Paris to the secular clergy, or to the President of Douay College, it will be necessary to premise, for the better understanding of what will be said, that the souls of our country-men, who are zealous for the Orthodox faith, have already been gravely scandalised by the perverse acts and decrees of the parliament, not only in the cause of the Jesuits, but in many other matters concerning the authority of the Holy See, the obedience due to the Constitution *Unigenitus*, the administration of the Sacraments and other things which are of purely ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"And, therefore, when I learned from letters from Douay dated 19 July 1762, that some at Paris were deliberating about handing over the College of St. Omer (which they then knew for certain was about to be taken from the Jesuits) to the Secular Clergy or Douay College, by the authority of the aforesaid parliament, I confess that I was horror-struck, knowing what grave scandals and dissensions in our Mission would arise therefrom.

"Wherefore, without delay, by letter dated 3 August I entreated the Superiors of Douay College not to give their assent or concurrence in any way to this proposal.

"First, because the expulsion of the Jesuits from their College by judgment of a secular court about to be pronounced, though the cause had not been tried, and no accusation had been proved for which they deserved to be expelled, was manifestly unjust, tyrannical and sacrilegious; and therefore no one could with a safe conscience, at least without the consent of the injured party, accept from a wrongful possessor of this description that which had been confiscated by a violation of all rights.

"Secondly, because the Holy Father altogether disapproved of everything which was being done by the parliament of Paris in this cause. And therefore we, the *alumni* and most obedi-

ent sons of the Holy See, ought not in any way to concur by our consent or acceptance in the execution of a decree so offensive and injurious to the Holy See.

"Thirdly, because it was clear to me that a consent and acceptance of this kind to very many of our Catholic countrymen, and not only to the Jesuits, and their patrons and friends, would be extremely disagreeable and offensive (as the event has proved) and that therefore grave scandals and dissensions would arise which would scarcely ever be allayed, and which in the eyes of many would brand the Douay Clergy with no light disgrace: and that the more because most people are persuaded that the parliament of Paris is hostile to the Apostolic See, and that what they have done in the expulsion of the Jesuits originally proceeded from hatred of religion.

"These considerations and others, which seemed to me of very great weight, I suggested at that time, hoping by them to restrain our friends from giving their consent to the proposal. But after many months, at the urgent instance of some of our countrymen living in Paris, Mr. Henry Tichborne Blount, a Douay priest, accompanied by Dr. Green, the President, was by decree of the Parliament given possession of the College of S. Omer, (none of the Vicars-Apostolic in England being aware of the fact) and the Hon. Mr. Thomas Talbot who was with us in England was named President, also by decree of the Parliament.

"Although these things very much displeased me and not a few others, yet I would not in any way assent to the Jesuits and their friends who considered that what the above named priests had done on this occasion was a serious offence. I, however, was sure that both Mr. Blount, a very pious priest, and Dr. Green, a President worthy of all praise, had in good faith and with the best intentions acted as they had done, not on their own accord, but by the instigation of others, for the greater good, as they thought, of our mission. And as for Mr. Thomas Talbot, who was at that time in England, I bear witness that he did not at all wish for the administration of that College, unless the Apostolic See which he had consulted should approve, and therefore up to the present he awaits a response without which he will not proceed further in the matter.

"But now that I may somewhat more carefully weigh the motives which are adduced for the acceptance and preservation of that College, it appears to me, as I frankly confess, that, even supposing it can be preserved without injustice and injury to Religion, such preservation can under present circumstances in no way bring any great advantage to our mission. For the classes in grammar and humanities (for nothing else was taught at S. Omer), which were long in the hands of the Jesuits, were so far useful to this Mission that the said fathers there instructed very many students for their own Society, besides the children of their noble patrons, so that very many Jesuit missionaries have come from there, but no secular priests, if you do not take into account the failures (*quisquilias*) which they sometimes dismiss from their own body. Yet even usefulness of this kind would not be lost to this Mission by the confiscation of those schools, because the aforesaid Fathers, having been expelled from S. Omer, have betaken themselves to Bruges, with all their scholars, and have opened a new school there.

"But in what other way the possession of bare walls, which are almost all that is left at S. Omer, can bring any advantage either to this Mission or to the English College or to Douay College, I cannot guess. Certainly that College has existed so long, not by its own property or securities (which it does not possess), but partly by the pensions of boys of good position, and partly by the benefactions of their parents and by help received from England, which are now withdrawn and transferred elsewhere: and those who wish to preserve that College for the secular clergy can out of the income scarcely preserve the walls and roofs in good repair, much less support masters and prefects, together with a sufficient number of boys. And indeed such is the position since the expulsion of the Jesuits and transfer of the students to another house, that all now realise that that school cannot be preserved, unless masters and other superiors are supplied from Douay College, and Douay students, or those who would otherwise be educated at Douay, be transferred with their pensions to S. Omer.

"Wherefore many and great inconveniences will arise both to Douay College, which has no superfluous subjects, either Masters or scholars, and to our Mission, since in the dearth of

missionaries under which we already labour in every district, especially of those from Douay, whom we most desire, eight or ten of the *alumni* of that College will be detained at S. Omer.

"Certainly I do not believe that it can be at all pleasing to the Holy Apostolic See, that either its own alumni or other students should be transferred from its own Pontifical College, where under its own supervision young men have been educated so admirably, to this new Parliamentary College to be directed, under I do not know what regulations, at the discretion of a secular Court; especially since it was expressly forbidden by Clement XI. of happy memory that students of Douay should be sent, before the expiration of their studies, to any other College or Seminary whatever.

"These are the considerations which I have deemed it my duty to lay before the Sacred Congregation touching this business of the College of St. Omer, being prepared in all things to obey the commands of the Holy Father and the Sacred Congregation.

"Meanwhile with all respect I subscribe myself,

"Most Eminent and most reverend Father,

"Your Eminence's most humble and obedient servant

"RICHARD DEBOREN.

"LONDON, 11 *Feb.* 1763."

So explicit a pronouncement needs no comment. It more than justified the apprehensions of Mr. Blount concerning Bishop Challoner's intervention, but, in the event, the bishop's letter entirely failed to accomplish its object.

The authorities at Rome, being in a somewhat delicate position, did not indeed intend to make any explicit public announcement, but they allowed their views to be definitely known. Although they did not wish to issue any formal approbation of the action of the Douay Clergy, for fear of seeming to approve the Parliament's work; yet they did not wish to discourage, much less to prohibit the action of the seculars in taking possession of the college. Therefore no answer was returned to Mr. Talbot's memorial, and Bishop Challoner's counterblast was answered by a private letter from the prefect

of the Congregation. With regard to the former, Dr. Stonor notes in his agency papers :—[1]

"To this Memorial no answer was given in writing, but ye person y^t^ presented it was told, y^t^ people here would be sorry ye College at S. Omers was lost; and y^t^ as to Mr. Talbot, till such times as his conduct was blamed by Superiors here, it was needless for him to offer to make any apologies."

As to Dr. Challoner's letter, the Roman agent, who was himself a strong partizan of the Douay clergy, and who, therefore, could not be expected to sympathise with the bishop's outlook, wrote to him very respectfully, but in the most straightforward and outspoken manner, explaining that neither his views nor his presentment of them had found favour in Rome.

"On occasion of my visit," he writes,[2] "ye Secretary communicated to me your letter about S. Omers. By what he said I plainly perceived y^t^ ye Congregation, however it may with reason condemn the violent proceedings and encroachments of ye French Parliaments, nevertheless is not at all dissatisfied with the conduct either of Mr. Talbot, or our Douay and Paris brethren in the present circumstances, and is still less inclined to oblige him to give up the government of S. Omers, till time and experience shows that the house can be of no use to the Mission, or for the good of the nation. You must excuse me if I add from ye Secretary's own observation, y^t^ your letter would have pleased better if it had not looked more like an accusation than an impartial account of y^r^ affair. But you will better see the sense of ye Cong^n^ in their answer to your letter."

The bishop was too humble not to have taken in good part the rebuke contained in this letter, even if it had been expressed with less consideration for his feelings. But it is a tribute to his character that even when men differed from him on important questions which raised so much heat, they never even called in question the purity of his intention. Dr. Stonor concludes a long letter of cogent reasoning against the bishop's views with a feeling tribute to his "unwearied zeal, deep learning and tender piety".

[1] Southwark MSS., *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 483.

[2] Letter, Dr. Stonor to Bishop Challoner, 15 March, 1763, Southwark MSS., *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 61-63.

But by the time the bishop received his letter the affair had been settled once for all, though the quarrels caused by it continued to rage for many long months. Mr. Talbot, having received assurances from Rome, and being ever urged by the insistent perseverance of M. Roussel de la Tour,[1] had no reason for further delay, and so left Douay in order to take up his residence and enter on his new duties at St. Omer. Early in March the Esquerchin boys with their assistant master the Rev. Mr. Jennison began to arrive. By May, 1763, the college, with a complete staff of professors and thirty-two boys, was in full working order, and the object for which M. Roussel de la Tour had laboured so manfully for nine months was completely attained.

We may not let him pass from the story without paying him a final tribute. If his personal interests had been involved he could not have done more for the college than he did; while all the time his efforts were rather thwarted than seconded by those whom he wished to benefit.[2] He was certainly prejudiced against the Society, and his letters with reference to the Jesuits are not entirely innocent of special pleading; but he seems to have treated Father Lawson and his companions with courtesy and consideration; and they do not complain of him personally. His character, as well as his ability, highly impressed those who came in contact with him. Mr. Hodgson, having remarked on his ardent zeal for religion, his professional knowledge and indefatigable energy, concludes: "It may be truly averred that it is to his perseverance alone, to which every obstacle gave way, and which no calumnies could relent, that the English nation owed the preservation of the College at St. Omer".

All through 1763 and well into the following year the battle raged fiercely, and the noise of contest only gradually died away into sullen mutterings and rumblings. But in all this Bishop Challoner was not directly implicated, so that we need not concern ourselves with the troubles in which other

[1] Letter, M. Roussel de la Tour to Mr. Talbot, 6th Feb., 1763, Westminster Archives, Papers, 1760-65. See also *Dispassionate Narrative*, pp. 131-33.

[2] "Je ne dissimulerai pas que depuis ce tems j'ai été plus d'une fois rebuté des lenteurs et des irrésolutions de ces Messieurs" (*Lettre de M. Roussel de la Tour aux officiers de S. Omer*, Dec. 12, 1762, Westminster Archives and *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 440).

people found themselves involved; as, for instance, when the innocent Carthusians of Niewport, indignantly protesting, were in their own despite dragged into the fray. Bishop Hornyold, indeed, who had originally shared Dr. Challoner's opinion, had to suffer much as a result, and was so badgered and worried by Jesuits and their friends on the one hand, and Alban Butler strenuously fighting the secular battle on the other, that he took to signing himself "Your afflicted servant".[1] Like Bishop Challoner he was led by the informal decision of Rome and the logic of events to change his ground, a conversion which became a fruitful source of misunderstandings, explanations, recriminations and reprisals entangling all sorts of unlikely people. His final recantation was very complete: "I am now in a different way of thinking," he writes to Alban Butler,[2] "since I have been informed that our Superiors at Hilton have approved of every step that Mr. Green etc. had taken; as also of the advantage of £500 a year from the French King to that house, which otherwise would have been lost to the mission, and therefore I am so far from condemning them that I really think Mr. Talbot etc. deserved praise of every one, and even from the Jesuits themselves, since the taking of possession of that College has preserved it from being secularised or turned to another use, which if it had, then it would have been infallibly lost for ever to the Jesuits, whereas it is now ready for them, whenever they shall be called into favour again, which is what I most sincerely wish".

No such explicit testimony of Dr. Challoner's change of view seems to be extant, but Mr. Hodgson in his *Dispassionate Narrative*[3] states that the bishop received so complete an answer from Rome to his letter "as did probably induce him not only to tolerate, but even to applaud, every step taken in this affair. And in effect very soon after, that prelate wrote to Dr. Green in terms totally different from his former, and instead of blaming, expressed a satisfaction in what had been done, professing his former opinion to have arisen from a misapprehension of the state of the case." This information the writer professes to have received direct from Dr. Green himself.

The bishop himself, however, maintained that he had always

[1] Letter to Alban Butler, Dec. 19, 1763, Westminster Archives, Papers, 1760-65.

[2] Westminster Archives, 1761-65.

[3] P. 115.

been consistent. In a letter to his Roman agent, the 20th of May, 1763, he sums up his attitude on the whole question :—[1]

"As to my sentiments concerning the affair of St. Omer, they have always been the same, and were so antecedently to any clamours of the Jesuits, as the letter which I wrote to Mr. W. Wilkinson bears witness (Aug. 3, 1762) before the Jesuits themselves had any suspicion of the matter: and one of my principal motives for my way of thinking and acting in this business was, and is, the apparent prejudice which the possession of that house, in present circumstances, must be to our Clergy mission and to Douay College; and I am far from being alone in these sentiments. In the meantime, I do not accuse or condemn any of our brethren that are in another way of thinking and have acted accordingly. On the contrary I have always sought to excuse and defend them against the clamours of their adversaries; who, in my opinion, ought to look upon themselves as obliged to them for saving their College from being given up to plunder. And as to your particular, assure yourself, dear Sir, that this difference of sentiments shall not produce on my part any coldness in your regard; much less any falling out or breach of charity; of which I thank God, I perceive no symptoms amongst our brethren here."

In conclusion we may revert to Bishop Hornyold's expressed wish that the college should be restored to the Jesuits should opportunity ever permit, and it is clear that a readiness to restore it would be the best guarantee the secular clergy could give of their real disinterestedness so frequently and emphatically called into question. From the letters of all those who played responsible parts in the affair from beginning to end, it is clear that they were all pledged to such restoration.

The Society was now on the eve of being suppressed by the Pope, and before it was restored the French Revolution had swept away Douay and St. Omer alike. When after many years the English province of the Society was called on to renew its interrupted work a very different state of things had come into being; and both seculars and Jesuits had to make new beginnings in a new state of affairs, wherein the old quarrels were nothing more than rapidly fading memories.

[1] Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 64.

CHAPTER XXVII.

TROUBLED TIMES.

1764-1769.

THE St. Omer question, troublesome as it was, proved to be far from the gravest trial which the bishop had to bear during the next few years. There were troubles within the Catholic body and troubles from without. After much anxiety and with many pains, Dr. Challoner succeeded in obtaining a final settlement of the difficulty about the *sexennium*, and at length there seemed some prospect of peace, when Catholics were suddenly attacked from without, and an unexpected persecution fell upon them. These internal and external trials must now in turn engage our attention.

In the first place, the conclusion of the war in 1763, at the Peace of Paris, had the indirect result of reviving the difficulty the Regulars were in as to the obligation of the *sexennium*. For, by the latest decree, the vicars apostolic could only dispense them from this obligation during the existence of the war. But though this privilege was now at an end, the difficulties in the way of a loyal fulfilment of the Pope's requirements were as great as before, and there seemed no possibility of these requirements being complied with before the date in 1765, by which time all were bound to have spent three months in their own communities abroad.

During 1764 fresh representations to Propaganda were made on the subject by the regulars;[1] and the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation, having before them the views of Bishop Challoner, decided once more that the decree must remain in force, but that the time should be extended for a further *sex-*

[1] Decree Sac. Cong. Prop., 7th July, 1764. The meeting of Propaganda was on 25th June.

ennium, which, being calculated from the date of the meeting of Propaganda, would not expire till the 25th of June, 1771. The decree of the 7th of July, 1764,[1] proceeds to state that the Holy Father, Pope Clement XIII., approved of this decision, and at the same time commanded that during this *sexennium* the regulars of every Order, Congregation and Institute, including the Society of Jesus, who were in England should make an annual retreat of fifteen days, and should certify on oath, made before the Vicar-Apostolic of the District wherein they resided, that they had satisfied this command of the Pope.

This provision gave rise to fresh dissatisfaction. The regulars resented the obligation of the oath, nor do the vicars apostolic seem to have been anxious to have this new and somewhat invidious duty laid upon them. Practical difficulties were also connected with the length of the enjoined annual retreat.

Under the circumstances Dr. Challoner sent queries to Rome, "humbly begging to be informed:—

"(i.) Whether the obligation imposed on Regulars of making a fifteen days' retreat every year is intended for fifteen consecutive days, and whether it will not suffice for them to make a retreat of eight days twice a year, which would be more convenient for their respective charges.

"(ii.) Whether it be necessary that the Vicar-Apostolic should hear them make a sworn declaration of having fulfilled the obligation. As the greater part dwell in places very distant from the residences of the Vicars-Apostolic, it seems that it ought to suffice that they make the said declaration in presence of their respective superiors, and that the notifications be transmitted by these latter to the Vicars-Apostolic."

In reply to the first of these questions answer was made that the fifteen days spent in retreat must be consecutive, while the second was answered in the negative.

As time went on fresh doubts were suggested. Did the decree apply only to those who were actually in England, or

[1] Original in Westminster Archives, 1761-65. There is a copy at Ushaw (Ushaw Coll., ii. 343). The decree was communicated by Cardinal Castelli to Bishop Challoner in a letter dated July 14th, 1764, in which the bishop was enjoined to bring the decree to the notice of all regulars in his district and to see that the Pope's order as to the annual retreat was strictly obeyed.

would it also extend to those who, during the *sexennium*, would go there to work on the missions? And were faculties to be granted to the regulars for the whole *sexennium* or from year to year as before? These points were submitted by Bishop Challoner in an undated memorial addressed to Cardinal Castelli, a copy of which has been preserved among the papers of his Roman Agent.[1] In the memorial the bishop explains that he puts these fresh questions, because he is desirous "of removing even the slightest grievance of the missionary Regulars entrusted to his charge". At the end of the document Dr. Stonor adds a note: "This memorial was never presented; but Monsignor Marifoschi, Secretary of Propaganda, who had obtained from the Pope the order for the spiritual exercises, answered and bade me write thus in his name; that the order was general and regarded all the mission, secondly, that unless they presented the required certificate the Vicars Apostolic were not to continue their faculties, and that therefore it was clear that they were limited to a year. 'Vicarius Apostolicus utatur jure suo.' These were his words."

Subsequently, however, it must have seemed desirable to send a more formal reply, dated the 18th of May, 1765, under the seal of Cardinal Castelli, signed by him and countersigned by Mgr. Marifoschi, in which it is definitely stated that the congregation intended the decree to apply to all regulars who should be in England, or go thither during the *sexennium*, and that on the second point they had consulted the wishes of the Holy Father, who directed that the faculties were to be renewed every year, after the regulars produced proof that they had made the prescribed retreat.[2]

Meanwhile the Benedictines in England thought that the Pope might be induced to withdraw or mitigate his orders if common representations of the difficulties involved were made by the vicars apostolic, as well as by themselves. They accordingly approached the bishops, and were met in a sympathetic spirit. Bishop Challoner's attitude is recorded in a letter written by Dom Henry Wyborne to Bishop Hornyold.[3]

[1] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 77.

[2] Original in Westminster Archives, 1761-65.

[3] To the best of my recollection the original of this letter is at Oscott, but unfortunately my reference has been mislaid.

"London, *Augt.* 20, 1765.

"Hond. Sir,

"Our meeting being now over, and Mr. Howard [1] and I continued in our posts, three of ours have been deputed to Mr. Challoner to represent matters and desire his protection with regard to the late Regulations ordered from above. The following reasons have been alledged by us, *viz:* the impossibility of complying with the orders by so many being left destitute all the time of our absence, the expense it will put all Reg-s to, the umbrage it may give to our Ministers by our going over and returning to these parts. Mr. Challoner was pleased (on hearing our reasons) to assure us that, if the affair was sent to him from above, he would use his credit, and with the utmost sincerity endeavour to get it altered or qualified to our desires. As you have on occasions discoursed with me on this subject and foreseen the destruction that would be brought on the Mission should the *retraite* be insisted on, I hope you will concur in giving us all assistance in your power on this occasion; this is what Mr. Howard and I hope for from your impartial goodness to Regulars and to me in particular. I am, with respect and esteem, Hon^ed^ Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant

"Henry Wyborne."

From this letter it would appear that both Challoner and Hornyold, who were on friendly terms with the monks, realised that there was a great deal to be said for their case. None the less, it is also clear from the bishop's own letter, written a month later to his Roman agent, that his attitude towards the Benedictine deputation was not so entirely favourable as reported by Dom Henry Wyborne to Dr. Hornyold. Naturally seizing on his expressions of sympathy with pleasure, the three delegates had not attached the same importance, as he did, to his statement that he did not think it was a matter in which he or his brother-bishops should interfere. In this letter, dated 27th September, 1765, we have his views in his own words.[2]

[1] Dom John Placid Howard, President-General of the English Congregation from 1754 to 1766.

[2] Letter to Dr. C. Stonor, Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 87.

"DEAR SIR,

"I signified to you in my last how much the Jesuits and the Benedictines cry out against the late orders for the 15 days Retreat and the affidavit to be given under oath: which they represent to the laity as an insupportable grievance; and some of them loudly declare they will sooner quit the mission than take any such oath. They are now plying my brethren Amorien [Bishop Petre] and Philomelian [Bishop Hornyold] to join in a petition to Madam Propaganda to have those orders recalled or at least qualified; and the same thing they have requested of me. My answer was that I did not think it was proper for me or my brethren to join in any such petition; as we had no hand in procuring those orders; and were not willing to censure the doings of our superiors: They, that thought themselves aggrieved, might do well to represent their grievance to proper persons; and if these should desire to know our sentiments upon the matters in question, we should give them in the most favourable manner we could. It appears to me pretty clear, that when the end of the year comes, a great part of these gentlemen will by one pretext or another, not have performed their 15 days exercises, and much less give an affidavit of any such performance. And what then must we do? It is proper our Superiors should think of this in time: for, after all, we cannot suffice to serve this mission without these auxiliaries: and what a dreadful and general outcry would there be raised against us, for stopping at once the faculties of so many; and this upon the refusal of an oath; the taking, or at least the exacting of which, as some have hinted, would be disagreeable to the government. The Provincial of the Jesuits signified to me, that what would make them all easy would be if the 15 days were not to be necessarily *continued;* and if instead of an oath, we would take their word. If Mr. Abraham [the Pope] approve of this; none of his Vicars would disapprove of it. I should be glad our friends should know all this.

"I remain

"Ever Yours

"R. C.

"*Sept.* 27, 1765."

To his transcript of this letter Dr. Stonor adds the following note:—[1]

"This paper was presented but not received, or laid before the congregation, because a few days before the Jesuits had made an instance to the same purpose which was rejected; and they were told that the Society ought to be particularly careful at this juncture, not to disgust the Holy See by being refractory to its orders. The Franciscans have given assurance of the obedience of their subjects; the Benedictines will not be alone in standing out, and if they should, they are not so many as to make their loss regarded. After all, by the terms of the circular letter, the Vicars Apostolic have, in case of necessity, a power to dispense; which, however, is not to be made use of but with particular caution."

Here the matter seems to have rested for some months, until in the early part of 1766 Bishop Challoner was made uneasy by the approaching expiration of the annual faculties granted to the regulars and the prospect of having to institute inquiries as to their due performance of the prescribed retreat.

In this case he did not approach Propaganda through his Roman Agent, but wrote in Latin directly to Cardinal Castelli himself. The following is a translation of his letter, which was dated from London, 7th March, 1766.[2]

"Most Eminent Father,

"The time is now approaching, when by the ordinance of the Apostolic Rules, all Missioners who are Regulars, are bound to apply to the Vicars-Apostolic for the renewal of their faculties, and to prove by proper documents that they have spent fifteen days in spiritual exercises, according to the tenour of the decree issued by the Sacred Congregation on June 15, 1764. I, therefore, think it necessary to have recourse to your Eminence upon certain difficulties which I foresee will ensue in the execution of that decree. There are many Regulars who are exceedingly averse to taking the oath, which is exacted from them by the said decree under pain of expulsion from the mission, under pretext of some burden or other which

[1] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 84-85.
[2] Copy in Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 86.

they complain it lays upon their conscience. For which reason they are endeavouring to excite no small ill-will and envy against us amongst the laity, as though we, with hostile intent had caused this burden to be imposed on them, whereas nothing of the sort ever came into our minds. What therefore are we to do if they decline to take this oath? Are faculties to be refused to them on that account, and are all who refuse the oath to be dismissed from the mission? And what will then become, especially in the present dearth of missioners, of so many congregations, who by dismissals of this kind will be deprived of their pastors? And how great will be the outcry against us, which by this accusation they will arouse, with grievous loss of peace to this Mission?

"We therefore beg the Sacred Congregation, in its charity towards us, to deign to point out as soon as possible what we are to do in these difficulties. We beg It to decide whether, considering all things, it would not be for the common advantage and peace of the Mission, if power were granted to the Vicars Apostolic of dispensing from this oath those men of alleged scrupulous conscience, provided they are willing to affirm seriously and positively that they have fulfilled the aforesaid obligation of the Retreat for fifteen days either consecutive, or possibly, owing to illness or other serious impediment, interrupted.

"If this is granted the Sacred Congregation would do a favour to the other Vicars Apostolic besides myself, and your Eminence would by this new kindness bind to you

"Your most obedient servant,

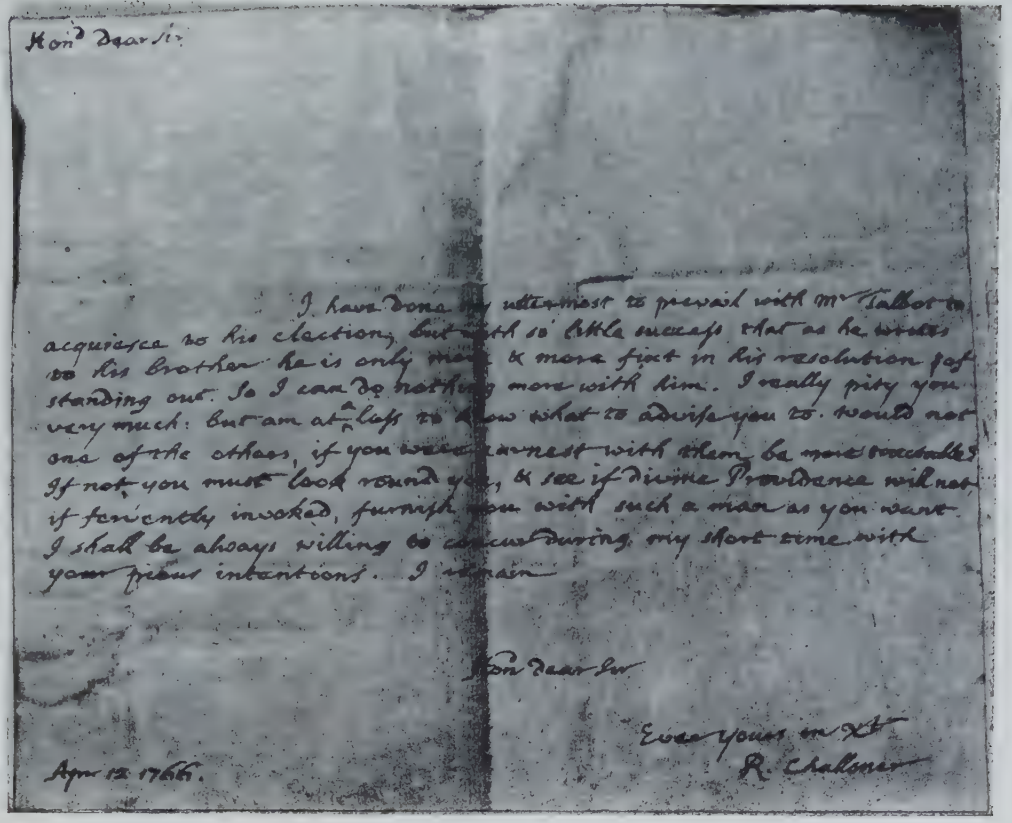
"RICHARD, Bishop of Debora, V.A.

"LONDON, *March* 7, 1766."

This letter was duly presented by Dr. Stonor, who kept a copy of it, as was his custom, adding a note:—

"April ye 22nd, 1766. I sent by the French post, enclosed to Dr. Howard, a letter from Propaganda to Bishop Challoner, which, I was assured, was to give him the faculties mentioned in ye above letter; to be by him communicated to his confrères."

The original of this letter from Propaganda is now in the



Rev^d Dear Sir

I have done my uttermost to prevail with Mr Talbot to acquiesce to his election, but with so little success that as he writes to his Brother he is only more & more fixt in his resolution of standing out. So I can do nothing more with him. I really pity you very much: but am at a loss to know what to advise you to. would not one of the others, if you were in earnest with them, be more tractable? If not, you must look round you, & see if divine Providence will not, if fervently invoked, furnish you with such a man as you want. I shall be always willing to co-operate during my short time with your pious intentions. I remain

Rev^d Dear Sir

Ever yours in X^t

R. Challoner

Apr 12 1766.

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY BISHOP CHALLONER.

Westminster Archives, and is to the desired effect.[1] It declares that the Congregation, having considered the reasons given in the bishop's letter, have advised the Holy Father to grant to the vicars apostolic the faculties asked for, of dispensing from the Oath. This the Pope acceded to, provided the rest of the decree remained in full force.

The relief with which Dr. Challoner received this letter must have been very great, for it is clear from the pressing nature of his letter to Cardinal Castelli how difficult the position was for him and the other bishops. They would have had to enforce a well-meant but unpopular regulation, which, while not desired by any one in England, gave offence to many, and served to hinder the restoration of peace which had been one of the great objects of Benedict XIV.'s original decree.

But by the time this prospect of peace was restored to the English Catholics they were already in the thick of a storm of persecution which began in 1764 and lasted without intermission for several years. For as far back as most Catholics could remember, they, though subject to continual restrictions and harassing disabilities, had been free from anything approaching active persecution. The Government was tolerant, and public opinion was averse to the enforcement of the penal laws. It seemed as though the severe enactments against priests were now a dead letter, and that the clergy, if they exercised ordinary prudence and self-restraint, had nothing more to fear from the law. The reign of George II. was the first reign since the Reformation, except that of James II., in which no law was enacted against the Catholics, and Charles Butler states that he had not found an instance in which, from the time of that monarch's accession to the throne, any proceeding was had against any Catholic for actual recusancy.

This tranquillity was roughly disturbed in 1765 and the following years, when there broke out a new persecution, not initiated in any way by Government, or called for by any responsible or representative class of the English people, but which was planned and carried out by the cupidity of certain common informers, supported by the rabid bigotry of a small no-Popery section of the populace. At one moment, indeed,

[1] Letter, Cardinal Castelli to Bp. Challoner, April 19, 1766, Westminster Archives, 1766-70.

some of the Anglican bishops grew active, as we learn from a letter written by Dr. Challoner just before Christmas, 1765.[1]

"We are at present under a kind of persecution, raised by some of the bishops under pretence of stopping the growth of popery (which is but imaginary), but in effect to revenge themselves on the papists, for Mr. Phillips's *Life of Cardinal Pole* at which they have taken great offence; but we hope the storm will quickly blow over."

But in this Dr. Challoner was over-sanguine. The bishops, indeed, did not long continue to molest Catholics, but the informers found the prosecution of the clergy too profitable to be lightly foregone, and for some years to come they continued to harass the bishop and his priests.

Of this persecution we have very scanty information, and it is to be regretted that the Catholics who suffered from it, did not, in quieter times, leave us some more complete record of it than they did. The effect of the persecution, however, was to make them still more distrustful than before, and to drive them into still deeper concealment, so that the obscurity which surrounds all their doings is, during this period, even more impenetrable than usual. In fact, if it had not been for the three biographers of Bishop Challoner, who, in writing his life, were bound to touch upon this new trial, we should probably have known nothing about it, except the bare fact recorded in the public press that proceedings were taken against several Catholic priests, and that one was actually sentenced to imprisonment for life. Fortunately, when Barnard, Milner and Charles Butler wrote, relief had at length been granted, and the danger was over. They were therefore free to speak, and our one regret is that they did not tell us more. Luckily, they do not repeat one another, and by combining the three accounts we can get a fairly clear picture of this new agitation. Barnard in particular is valuable on this point, and his lengthy quotations from one of the trials[2] throw more light on Catholic life at that time than anything he himself wrote upon it.

From a comparison of the three accounts it is clear that

[1] Letter to Dr. C. Stonor, December 17, 1765, Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 92.

[2] Rex *v.* Webb. It was originally published in pamphlet form. There is a copy at Ushaw, and another in the Westminster Archives.

there were two forces at work. The informers set the law in motion in a business-like way, moved solely by the desire of gaining the reward of £100, which the statute of William III. awarded to every one who should convict a priest of exercising his functions. Nor were they above accepting any of the other sources of profit, such as hush-money, which could in any way be exploited under cover of enforcing the law. There was nothing in this but self-interest and the prospect of gain. On the other hand, the public proceedings in the courts had the effect of stirring up the fanaticism which is generally smouldering among people of certain religious views, and which is by no means extinct even at the present day.

Barnard was concerned more with the informers and their work, while Milner was struck by the aspect of religious intolerance that the movement presented. Thus he begins his account by saying: "It is true that about the period of which I have been speaking, namely in 1764 and 1765, a violent effort was made, chiefly by certain virulent sectaries and others of the lower order of the clergy and the laity, to excite the passions of the nation to as high a pitch against Catholics, as they had ever been at in the last century, and to let loose the whole force of the penal laws against them. The newspapers and many of the pulpits teemed with all the invectives, misrepresentations and calumnies which John Fox, Foulis and other malicious writers had heaped up together for this purpose. Several chapels were shut up, and many priests were indicted and tried for saying mass, or exercising other of their priestly functions."[1]

This persecution which began seriously in 1765 lasted, according to Barnard, till 1778, "though not always with the same relentless fury".[2]

"For the first seven years," he writes, "scarce a week passed but Dr. Challoner had some fresh account brought to him, either of some Priest being arrested, some steps that were taken by the Informer, in carrying on his Persecution against some one or other of those whom he had under Bail: some appearance to be put in and new Bail given, or some trial to come on: or else of his endeavouring to steal incog. into some

[1] *Life*, p. 39. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

of the Chapels, that he might lay a new information against the priests, or of his going accompanied with a number of others of his crew, and some constables, to the chapel doors, and endeavouring to force his way in ; which frequently obliged those who were there present, to keep the doors close shut, and thereby hindered several Catholics from attending the Divine Worship on those days. All these things were extremely mortifying to him, and afforded him all that affliction which can affect a compassionate soul. But that which afflicted him most, was, to see that in consequence of those prosecutions, some of the chapels were shut up : one of his priests condemned to imprisonment for life : several others scattered : the preaching of the Word of God, and his Divine Worship interrupted : the people deprived of their Pastors, and of the instruction in the principles of Christian Faith and Morality which they received from them."

The frequency of these raids is illustrated by a page of extracts from the *Universal Museum*.[1] Taking paragraphs for six months of the year 1767 we read :—

" 1767. February 6. Wednesday, a private mass house, at the back part of a house near Saltpetre Bank, was suppressed.

" 1767. February 7. Another private mass house has this week been suppressed in Kent Street.

" 1767. February 17. Friday. John Baptist Moloney, a popish priest, was taken up for exercising his function in Kent Street, several Sundays, contrary to law. He is bound over in 400-*l.* penalty to appear at the next Kingston assizes.

" 1767. March 20. A private popish mass house in the Park, Southwark, where four young couples had assembled to be married, was visited by the peace officers, on which the parties got off, and the apartments were padlocked and shut up. The priest was dressed as an officer.

" 1767. March 27. Another private mass house was shut up in Black Lion Court, St. Giles.

" 1767, July 17. By an account taken this week it appears that there are near 10,000 Papists, most of them poor miserable people, who live in the purlieus of St. Giles and the neighbourhood thereof. A number of Papist priests lurk in this part of

[1] This list has been reprinted by Mgr. Ward in his *History of St. Edmund's College*, p. 27.

the town, who chiefly support themselves by marrying poor papists for a few shillings.

"1767. August 23. Last Friday, at the assizes at Croydon, John Baptist Moloney was tried for unlawfully exercising the functions of a popish priest, and administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to divers persons, after the manner of the Church of Rome, where he was convicted and received sentence of perpetual imprisonment." [1]

Fortunately in this case the sentence on this devoted Irish priest was not fully carried out, but after a few years was commuted to banishment.[2]

It is not possible to estimate exactly the number of cases in which proceedings were taken. They must have been considerable, for Charles Butler states that when he made inquiries in 1780, respecting the execution of the penal laws against the Catholics, he found that the single office of Dynely and Ashmall, Attorneys-at-law in Gray's Inn, had defended more than twenty priests under such persecutions, and that, greatly to their honour, they had generally defended them gratuitously. He continues: "In all these transactions Doctor Challoner conducted himself with great prudence and firmness. Scanty as was his income, he was the chief refuge of the persecuted priests. The expences attending the prosecutions of them, their imprisonments, removals, concealments, and other vexa-

[1] A curious story repeated on the authority of Mr. Maloney (this seems the proper spelling of the name) is found in the unpublished diary of Bishop Douglass, who recorded it as it was told him by the Rev. John Lindow. Whether true or not, it seems of sufficient interest to be here inserted.

"*Mr. Maloney*, the Irish priest who was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in Payne's persecution, when he was in the King's Bench, told Mr. Lindow that the Captain, in whose ship *Whitfield* the Methodist Preacher took his passage to Georgia, gave him (Mr. Maloney) the following account of the conduct and death of that Heresiarch and head of the sects of Methodist (*sic*), *viz.* that, when out at sea, they met with so violent a storm, that the ship was in immediate danger of sinking, that he ordered all the crew to betake themselves to prayer, that he being a catholick said his prayers apart, and that *Whitfield* came to him and begged leave to join with him in prayer, did join with him in prayer and begged him to bear witness at the Tribunal of Jesus Christ, that he (Whitfield) died a member of the Catholick Church—that the storm abated, that they continued their voyage to Georgia, and that *Whitfield* took up again his old trade of preaching Methodism, and that going one day to preach to a great concourse of people at the seaside, He (Whitfield) went into a Boat, put off a little from the shore, then raised his hands (the attitude for preaching) and immediately dropped down dead."

[2] See *infra*, pp. 157-158.

tions were almost always discharged by him; he defrayed them with kindness, and in a manner that showed how greatly he honoured the sufferers in their sufferings and wants."[1]

The prime mover in all these proceedings was one William Payne, known as the "Protestant Carpenter". Catholics were not his only—nor even his first—victims. At the trial of the Rev. James Webb, Counsellor Cox, who appeared for the prisoner, thus described Payne's career: "Gentlemen of the Jury; you must have observed that the chief evidence against J. Webb, is this Payne, who has been all his life a common informer, who makes it his business to make people miserable. Sometime he used to go about on Sundays, among those poor women who sell gingerbread, nuts, and suchlike things, to get a trifle to buy bread for their poor starving children at home; since by their hard labour all the week, they were not able to raise sufficient to make a Sunday's dinner. These poor people he took up, fined, and distressed them, and their poor innocent children, in the most inhuman and barbarous manner imaginable. As I often had opportunities of speaking to Payne on those occasions, I asked him how he could be so cruel? He said they deserved it; because they profaned the Lord's Day. Next he attacked another set of people still more innocent; I mean the poor beggars: these also he took up, sent them to Bridewell, and such like places. I asked him why he did this? Because, said he, they ought to go to church and say their prayers. Thus he has gone on many years, with several other poor innocent people; watching all opportunities to put them to trouble, to distress the distressed, and make them still more miserable. What can you think of such a man, who makes it his whole employment to go about from place to place; watching all opportunities to ruin his fellow creatures?"

Such was the person who began to take a keen interest in Catholics and their affairs. Having first discovered some of the meeting-places, "he had," writes Barnard,[2] "for several Sundays frequented them, as if he himself had been one of the faithful; and by commending the elegance of the sermons of the preachers, and the decency and devotion with which others assisted at the Altar, he had from some unthinking Catholics,

[1] "Life," *Catholic Magazine*, i., 717. [2] *Life*, p. 156.

fished out the names of most of the clergy: he had dogged them from the Chapels to their own houses, he had in like manner, discovered the names and habitations of several persons of the respective congregations; he had also some time before applied to Dr. Challoner himself for instruction in the principles of the Catholic Faith, hypocritically pretending that he was desirous of being admitted into the communion of the Catholic church".

We know from his own evidence that he was also diligent in attending the ambassadors' chapels, so as to familiarise himself with the rites and practices, as well as with the persons, of Catholics.

By the month of June, 1765, he was ready to open his campaign. On the 2nd of that month he took a companion called Gates to Ropemaker's Alley. "There is a Mass house there," he testified,[1] "that will hold, I believe, a thousand people: it was on the second of June 1765. I saw this Gentleman [Bishop Talbot] dressed, I think it was in white, with a Cross on his back and I believe another on his breast, with a mitre on his head."

What else he saw does not appear, but he considered it sufficient ground on which to apply to the Lord Mayor, Sir William Stephenson, for warrants to arrest several Catholics. Sir William happened to be acquainted with some of the priests, and seeing the drift of Payne's proceedings, flatly refused to grant the warrants. Payne, however, was not without influence in other quarters, and he succeeded in obtaining a letter from the Bishop of London to the Lord Mayor, desiring him to give effect to his demand. The only result of this was that the Lord Mayor furnished the bishop with such complete information and explanation that he altogether ceased to afford any patronage or help to the informer.

At the same time the Lord Mayor sent friendly warning to the Catholics affected, and suggested that as they were, in fact, very much in any informer's power, it might be prudent to settle the matter with the official who was supporting Payne in his proceedings. The official, in consequence, received ten guineas, though "of this money the Informer and his understrappers got the far greatest part". Nor was this the whole

[1] Rex *v.* Talbot, quoted by Barnard. *Life*, p. 183.

extent of Mr. Payne's profits, for he also secured the payment of "a bill of sundry expenses, which he pretended he had been put to, in order to watch the priests and discover their names and places of abode, as also for the trouble and loss of time which he himself had been at for the same purpose".

The chief drawback to his success was that his friend, the official, having presumably obtained fresh light on Payne's character in the matter of the ten guineas, declined to help him any more, and left him to continue his proceedings on his own account, "supported by his own matchless impudence and effrontery," as Barnard is moved to observe.

Encouraged by his success in the Maloney case, Payne was stirred on to new activity. He had received from the Sheriff of Surrey his reward of £100, which encouraged him to plan even larger operations. Shortly after Mr. Maloney was sentenced Payne began his attack on Dr. Challoner himself, whom he indicted for exercising the functions of a bishop, together with four priests and a schoolmaster. Payne had apparently some trouble in tracking down the bishop, as Milner tells us that the house in Lamb's Conduit Street in which Dr. Challoner then resided "was purchased over his head by the Arch-informer in order to have the more effectual hold of him". The bishop, however, met this manœuvre by going to live in another house, Gloucester Street, Queen's Square, where he resided, though not without interruptions, till the time of his death.

If Payne had been successful in his indictment of the bishop and his five companions his proceedings would have resulted in a net gain of £500,[1] but by sharp practice he over-reached himself. All six prisoners were admitted to bail, and would have been brought to trial, except that Payne, in his desire to save himself expense, had ventured to forge some copies of subpœnas. Four of these spurious documents came into the hands of the Catholics, and Payne, hearing this, quickly came to terms with the attorneys for the defence. On condition that they would not prosecute him, he undertook to drop the proceedings against them. In this way Dr. Challoner escaped what was a serious and real peril.

[1] £500 not £600, for there was no reward given by the statute for the conviction of a schoolmaster. Probably Payne thought that the schoolmaster was really a priest.

Though he had failed in this case, Payne was by no means inclined to relax his efforts. He soon had proceedings pending against four more priests, James Dillon, Antony Barnewall, James Webb and Hyacinth de Magallaens, who were all actually brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench at Westminster.

That all four were acquitted is due to the ruling of Lord Mansfield, who upheld the contention of the defence, that it was not sufficient to prove that a person acted as a priest, but that the fact of his ordination must be proved.[1] This contention seems to have taken the prosecution by surprise. The attorney-general, that not very reputable lawyer, Sir Fletcher Norton, saw the wide-reaching effects of this: "If this is the meaning of the statute," he said, "it will be impossible to prove any man a priest. We shall be obliged to go abroad into their Colleges and Seminaries, and even to the very place where they were ordained, and to the bishop that ordained them, to see them ordained, and perhaps to Rome and even to the Pope himself, before we can prove them to be priests. Therefore with submission to your Lordship's judgment this could never be the intent of the legislators."[2]

The attorney-general was right to this extent, that such had never been held to be the intent of the legislators by any judge since the persecution began. From Mr. Justice Manwood, who sentenced Blessed Cuthbert Mayne in 1577, to the judge who had convicted John Baptist Maloney the year before, no proof of actual ordination had ever been required; and it was only the determination of the lord chief justice to put an end to prosecutions instituted for such low ends, that caused him to decide on a point which had never been urged before. The logic and equity of his judgment is a sufficient comment on the spirit in which the penal laws had been both framed and administered.

It should, however, be noted that the chief justice's view was not a private opinion confined to himself. The result of the Maloney trial seems to have shocked the judges themselves, and they appear to have met to consider the position.

[1] "There are no proofs of his ordination, which must be before he can be proved to be a Priest." The judge's summing up, Barnard, p. 178.

[2] Barnard's *Life of Challoner*, p. 167.

They had certainly come to a unanimous decision on the point. Lord Mansfield pointed this out immediately. When counsel for the prosecution had completed their argument, he decided against them at once:[1] "I have considered in my own mind the whole force of the evidence. And as for the meaning of those statutes, I own before that affair happened in Surrey I had not thoroughly examined them. But since that time, all the twelve Judges have consulted upon them, and we have all agreed in opinion that the Statutes are so worded that in order to convict a man upon those statutes, it is necessary that he be first proved to be a priest: and secondly that it be proved he has said Mass." Now, throughout this trial Mr. Webb did not admit that he was a priest, and so threw the onus of proof upon the prosecution, and on this point their evidence broke down. "You will be pleased to observe," said the judge in charging the jury,[2] "that there is but one evidence to prove it. Payne is the only man who has sworn that he said mass. And this Payne is a very illiterate man; knows nothing of Latin, the language in which Mass is said; and moreover he is an Evidence in his own cause, because if Payne convicts him he is entitled to a Hundred pounds reward. . . . For several others were called, and not one of them would venture to swear that they saw James Webb say Mass. One swore, he saw him sprinkle with Holy Water. Another that he said some prayers to the Virgin Mary in English. Another that he heard him preach."

A little later he made it abundantly clear to the jury that Payne's motives were less religious than mercenary:—[3]

"This Payne," he said, "having got a hundred pounds since the conviction of that man in Surrey, and being now in hopes of more money swears positively that the defendant said Mass. And you see what pains he has taken, running here and there; sometimes to the Ambassadors to see how they performed there, and then stealing in privately where he thought he might lay an information to get another Hundred pounds. Though according to the Penal Statutes of Queen Elizabeth, which are still in force, it is High Treason for a priest to come into England: but the informer is entitled to no reward.

[1] Barnard's *Life of Challoner*, p. 167.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 176. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 179.



Lord Mansfield.

There are three statutes against priests. The first is that of Queen Elizabeth 27, c. 2, which makes it high treason for them to come into England: but Payne has not indicted him upon that statute; because if he had been convicted he would have had no reward. There was another made afterwards, enacting that if a priest was convicted of saying Mass he was to forfeit two hundred marks and suffer one year's imprisonment: but neither does Payne go upon this Statute, for here there is no reward for the informer. The third was made in King William's reign, 11 and 12, c. 4, soon after the Revolution. This is the Statute Payne aims at, because here is one hundred pounds the County is to pay to him, if he can convict the defendant."

After this summing-up, so directly against the prosecution, the jury acquitted the prisoner, as also Mr. Hyacinth de Magallaens, in whose case the evidence was precisely similar.

In the following October Payne attacked Bishop James Talbot, and indicted him "for exercising part of the office or function of a Popish bishop". He, however, was misinformed as to the bishop's real name, and probably confusing him with Dr. Challoner, indicted him as "Richard Talbot of the parish of Cripplegate, in the Ward of Cripplegate Without, London, Yeoman". Dr. Talbot appeared before Lord Mayor Harley on the 26th of October and entered into recognisances to appear at the next General Sessions at Old Bailey, where he escaped on the technical error. A similar mistake saved him again two years later when Payne indicted him as "Francis Talbot, Yeoman". Again Dr. Talbot entered into recognisances before the Lord Mayor, and again escaped through the error in description. Undaunted by these two failures, to which he added yet a third according to Barnard, he at length succeeded in drawing his indictment correctly, and on the 27th of February, 1771, Dr. Talbot was brought to trial at the Old Bailey. From the beginning of the trial Payne seems to have lost hope. At the outset he offered to drop the prosecution on condition that the two Mass houses in Ropemaker's Alley and White's Alley, Moorfields, were shut up. The judge would not allow this proposition to be considered, holding it to be improper, and directed the trial to proceed. Evidence was given by Payne himself and Saunders, a spy in his employ, a poor tool

who admitted that he acted for Payne because he was under pecuniary obligations to him. The other witnesses were all unwilling, not to say hostile, so that after examining seven or eight without result, counsel for the Crown abandoned the task as hopeless, and addressing the judge exclaimed, "My Lord, we despair of being able to make out the charge against the Defendant".

This break-down of the prosecution was followed by a formal acquittal, and this is the last recorded attempt of Payne to procure the conviction of any of the clergy.

It may well be imagined what distress and anxiety Dr. Challoner suffered during these repeated attacks upon his co-adjutor and his clergy, and how he must have longed for a quieter state of things. Yet, he was now growing too old to hope, and, as will be seen later, when the first suggestions came from without that a bill might be introduced for the relief of Catholics, he was alarmed at the very idea, as likely to result in nothing except the stirring up of yet fiercer enmity against the disheartened little body who were now only too thankful if they were simply left alone.

Yet even during these unfavourable times he would not relax his efforts for the sanctification of his people. He continued to spend his spare time in patiently labouring over new publications which he thought would be useful. But he had ceased now from controversy, and occupied himself more and more with spiritual works, especially those which treated of union with God. Thus in 1765 he made a translation of a little French treatise by Father John Chrysostom, O.S.F., which he published as *A Short Treatise on the Method and Advantage of withdrawing the soul from being employed on creatures in order to occupy it on God alone.* To this was added a little supplement headed *The Manner in which a certain spiritual man exercised himself in this holy virtue of withdrawing his soul from creatures*, which reads like an unconscious reflection of his own spiritual life, and therefore may fitly be reprinted here.

"I. The evening before he went to bed, he thought of the employments which he might meet with the next day. He made a strong resolution to fulfil them all, without hurry, and eagerness; not by the influence of nature, or suggestion of

passion; but with a pure view of what should be most agreeable to the will of God.

"II. Every hour of the day he examined his heart upon the subject of its unprofitable thoughts, its forgetting of God, and its vain occupations.

"III. Before every principal action of the day he recollected himself interiorly; and made a resolution of beginning it, carrying it on, and finishing it, with an eye to God alone.

"IV. He took notice that the enemy could not endure that a soul should tend to this pure occupation with God, or to be occupied with God alone; because by this way she greatly glorified God.

"V. He considered how much the Sacred Soul of our blessed Lord Jesus was most sublimely occupied with God alone, from the first moment of His Incarnation till the last of His life. He was quite transported with divine love; and he said, that this thought served him eminently to disengage his soul from creatures.

"VI. He related that when he would quite withdraw himself from creatures, he represented to himself that in the agony of death, he should see clearly how he had employed all the moments of his life: Alas! said he, how frightful must it be to see one's-self at the gate of eternity, after having spent, most vainly and most unprofitably, a life that ought to have been consecrated to holy penance and divine love!"

When this was finished, he set to work on a version of Boudon's *Dieu Présent Partout*, which he published in 1766 as *God Everywhere Present.* About the same time he also printed *Rules of Life for a Christian who desires to live holily and die happily;* which belongs to the class of his minor publications, some of which may originally have been issued as *Pastoral Letters*, or as the annual *New Year's Gift*, which he wrote for each successive edition of the *Laity's Directory.* Three of these, *Exhortation for the Time and Fast of Lent; Exhortation to Paschal Communion;* and *Pastoral Instruction for the Holy Time of Lent* were published separately, and were advertised for many years in the lists of Coghlan, the Catholic publisher, who on Meighan's death purchased his stock, and

who carried on his business with considerable enterprise.[1] In or about 1776 the *New Year's Gifts* of the previous years were published in collected form. The first in date which is known to exist is *A Discourse on the Name of Jesus* which appeared in the *Laity's Directory* for 1768 published by Coghlan.[2]

In 1767 he brought out the last of his own books, a short Bible history, under the title *An Abstract of the History of the Bible*, to which was added *An Abstract of the History of the New Testament.* The two were issued separately, though they are commonly met with bound in one volume. Thomas Meighan, who had printed his first works thirty years before, also published this, the last. He also brought out at this time an abridged version of the *Garden of the Soul.*

From this time he wrote no more, with the exception of such pastorals and brief instructions as have been mentioned. At the age of seventy-six he probably felt that his strength must be husbanded, and that the administration of the district and the affairs which claimed his attention from so many quarters were as much as he could hope to grapple with at his advanced years. That his faculties were still alert, and his power undiminished, is shown by the variety and importance of the matters in which he played a prominent part from this date till his ninetieth year. During this time we find him actively concerned with the affairs of the English Colleges in France, Spain and Portugal; the administration of the Catholic Missions in Pennsylvania, Maryland and the West Indies; and the chief charge of the Catholics in England. During these years which led up to the first Catholic Relief Act of 1778, Bishop Challoner occupied a position of responsibility in which he stood almost alone. Having outlived his own generation, he was the object of unique deference and regard from clergy

[1] The habitual caution of Catholics is shown in the advertisements of Challoner's works in the *Laity's Directory*. Up till 1781, the year of his death, they are all described simply as by "R. C." From 1782 onwards the initials give way to "the late Bishop Challoner," though Bishop Talbot continues to be referred to as "J. T." For the scanty information hitherto obtained about these minor works, the reader is referred to the Bibliography, as also for a note about *The Devotion of Catholics to the Blessed Virgin truly represented*, which Barnard attributes to Challoner, but which was written by Robert Manning.

[2] See "An Old Established Periodical," by Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., *Month*, Feb., 1882, No. 212.

and laity alike. The other bishops looked to him for advice and direction, regarding him as the depositary of long years of experience. Now, at a time when the eighteenth century was drawing to a close, he alone was able to speak with personal knowledge of men who had played leading parts in the history of the seventeenth. When to all this was added the veneration which his sanctity inspired, we can understand something of the reverence in which he was held, and which Milner says was so marked that the very haughtiest respected him "and approached his person with a degree of awe".[1]

[1] *Funeral Discourse*, p. 19.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BISHOP CHALLONER AND THE ENGLISH COLLEGES ABROAD.

1767-1776.

ST. OMER was not the only college to engage Dr. Challoner's attention during this period of his life, for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in 1767 made it imperative that steps should be taken on behalf of the English Colleges there; while at the same time Lisbon was in a sad state for other reasons. In fact the condition of all the colleges abroad had long been a source of dissatisfaction to the vicars apostolic. As we have seen, complaint was made as early as 1737 that with the exception of the Douay men, very few suitable priests were sent on the mission, and so far as the Spanish colleges were concerned, "scarcely one or two in seven whole years is destined for us, sometimes even not one, while those who do come to us thence are not fit for this mission either in age or in learning".[1] In the same year Dr. Witham had written, "There is still a very great want of Clergy-missioners in all England, since so few can be had from Rome and all the Spanish Colleges; and Lisbon sends in a manner no missioners at all".[2]

In 1740 Bishop Stonor proposed to the Jesuits that Seville should be handed over to the secular clergy on condition that they surrendered to the Society all rights in the colleges at Valladolid and Madrid. The proposal was not accepted, but in writing an account of it to Rome, the bishop stated that it was long since even one Englishman had been at Seville, and

[1] Praesens Status Missionis Anglicanae. Report sent to Propaganda by Bishop Petre in 1737, Westminster Archives, see above, vol. i., chap. v.

[2] Letter to the Rev. Laurence Mayes, Feb. 12, 1737, Westminster Archives, *Epistolæ Variorum*, xi., 3.

still longer since any had been at Madrid, which he heard was employed by the Spanish fathers in other uses.[1]

The thirty years that had passed had brought no improvement; Valladolid and Seville were in much the same state; Madrid had ceased to exist, and Lisbon was in worse plight than ever. That these venerable institutions were preserved for us in any form and restored to new careers of usefulness, is largely due to the personal action of Bishop Challoner, who, though now seventy-six years of age, willingly undertook the labour and responsibility involved in their rescue.

All the three colleges in Spain had been founded under the auspices of Jesuits; Valladolid and Seville by Father Persons in 1589 and 1592 respectively, and Madrid by Father Creswell in 1612; but they were endowed for the general service of the English Mission, and had been founded largely by the generosity of the Spanish people, especially of successive Kings of Spain. From the time of their original foundation they had remained under the direction of the Society, and the vicars apostolic were unable to interfere with their management. But they could scarcely be said to be fulfilling their original purpose as places of ecclesiastical education. There had been no students at all at Madrid for a century or more, and latterly there had been none at Seville, and only two at Valladolid. Yet there were endowments in connection with all three colleges, which, though apparently not large, yet proved in the event sufficient for the education of ten students and the support of suitable masters. This became possible by applying to one house the funds which had been inadequate for the upkeep of three separate establishments.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in 1767, if not altogether unexpected, was dramatic in its suddenness. On the 27th of February in that year a decree was signed by the King empowering the Conde de Aranda to expel all Jesuits from his dominions, but the utmost secrecy was observed. On the 20th of March Aranda sent sealed orders to the Alcalde of every town in Spain, which were not to be opened until the evening of the 2nd of April, when they were to be immediately carried into effect. Accordingly at midnight on the fixed

[1] Letter to Cardinal Pico de Mirandola, July 15, 1740. There are two copies in the Westminster Archives.

date, every Jesuit house in Spain was visited by the civil authorities, and when morning broke, all the members of the Society were being hurried to ports of embarkation. Small pensions were assigned to these exiled fathers and lay-brothers, but all the rest of their property was confiscated to the king.

News of these proceedings reached London in due course, and Bishop Challoner at once took steps for preserving the rights of the English Catholics in the colleges which, though administered by the Spanish Jesuits, had been founded and endowed by British subjects, or through the generosity of the king and people of Spain. In the name of the vicars apostolic and clergy of England he addressed a letter to the Prince de Masserano, then Spanish ambassador in London. Two months passed away, and then he received on the 21st of July a very friendly reply from the ambassador, who explained that he had not sooner acknowledged the letter of the bishops, because he had forwarded it, together with the annexed papers, to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Marquis de Grimaldi: and he wished to await the King of Spain's reply.[1] He was now able to enclose a French translation of the favourable answer he had received. This reply, once again translated, was to the following effect:—[2]

"Translation of the letter which His Excellency, the Marquis of Grimaldi, Secretary of State to His Majesty, wrote to His Excellency, the Prince de Masserano, Ambassador Extraordinary of Spain in London.

"SIR,

"In a letter of the 9th May of this year, Your Excellency forwarded me a representation of the Bishops and chiefs of the clergy in that kingdom, in which they claim three colleges of Spain situate in Madrid, Valladolid and Seville, which were under the administration of the Jesuits, the whole of whose properties have been confiscated.

"I handed the whole, by order of the King, to the Extraordinary Council, which declared to His Majesty that truly the colleges exist, and they were abandoned by reason that the

[1] Prince de Masserano to the Vicars Apostolic, 21 July, 1767, Westminster Archives.

[2] The translation is in the Westminster Archives.

Jesuits had made themselves masters thereof; that in that of St. George of Madrid they had not had a single pupil for many years, and the Jesuits of the Province of Toledo drew its revenues; that the same abuse had obtained in the college of Seville, and in that of Valladolid, where there were only two pupils,[1] they had complained that the Jesuits did not teach them the dogmatic and polemical theology which can make them serviceable to the mission of England, and had asked, through the medium of the Corregidor Intendant, that this abuse should be remedied. They were told in reply that they should then suggest the professor whom they deemed most suitable, and that thenceforward the matter would be attended to. That the same happened with the Scottish colleges in Seville and Madrid, the revenues of which they had been forwarding to Douay since 1735. That those of the Irish at Alcala, Salamanca, Seville and St. Jacques are in almost the same condition of neglect, owing to the fact that the Jesuits had become masters of them, although they were of Royal Endowment, or Lay Patronage, under the sole pretext and authority of education, in which they have entirely failed. It is indispensable that arrangements should be made in respect of all these things, as His Christian Majesty has done in accordance with the schedule appended to the representation of the Bishops and ecclesiastics.

"His Majesty being well informed of all, orders me to tell Your Excellency, in order that you make reply to the said Bishops and ecclesiastics, that His Majesty will have the endowment conditions respected, and employ the revenues for the instruction of young Englishmen intended for the mission. For this purpose the endowment and funds of each house are being examined, and accordingly those worthy Bishops and ecclesiastics may make representation through the intermediation of Your Excellency upon all that may appear to them to be expedient for the profit of the said colleges, in order that with the necessary knowledge, and the said examination being finished, the Council may propose to His Majesty what

[1] It should be noted that the decline of the numbers at Valladolid had only taken place gradually during the few years immediately preceding the date of this document.

is desirable for the good of religion and the glory of His Majesty. In Madrid this 29th June, 1767.

Signed in the original, the Marquis de Grimaldi.
To His Excellency The Prince de Masseran."

As the vicars apostolic were thus invited to give their advice and express their views, Bishop Challoner, who had been empowered to act for them in the affair, drew up in French a long memorial to the ambassador, dated 26th July, 1767. In this document he first expresses the grateful thanks of his brethren and himself for the decision of the king to preserve the three colleges for the training of English secular priests. Then he states that, acting in accordance with his majesty's request, the vicars apostolic venture to lay down the conditions they deem essential for the good government of the colleges. In the first place it is most necessary that the rectors should always be English secular priests, who would know best how to train up missionaries for the special work in England, and would carefully provide for the good both of the colleges and of the mission. Whereas for a long time past the English Mission had derived so little benefit from the colleges in Spain, that at that time in all England there was only one secular priest who had been educated there.

In the next place it would seem reasonable and even necessary that secular priests should be appointed as professors of dogmatic and moral theology, and of all other knowledge necessary for priests destined for this mission.

In order to furnish a sufficient number of scholars it would be necessary to admit for elementary studies those who were not yet sufficiently advanced to begin philosophy, as was done at Douay, Lisbon and even at Rome. This was inevitable, since Catholics in England had not the means of providing this preliminary education for their children.

He then proceeds to urge the amalgamation of the three colleges into one, on the ground that the funds would not be sufficient to re-establish them on their original footing and provide a sufficient number of masters and scholars. Therefore he begs the king to apply the revenues belonging to Madrid and Seville to the college at Valladolid, which was the most suitable as to climate and which possessed other advantages.

The memorial concludes with renewed thanks to the king and the Marquis de Grimaldi.[1]

Valladolid was in fact very suitable for the purpose, as the college had been rebuilt within the previous twenty years and possessed a handsome church and a good library. It had always been much larger than either Seville or Madrid, and claimed twenty of the martyrs, and many confessors, among its former students.

Bishop Challoner's suggestions were adopted as they stood by the Spanish Government. On the 14th of September the Marquis de Grimaldi wrote a letter to the Spanish ambassador announcing this decision.[2] This was communicated to Bishop Challoner by the ambassador, accompanied by the following letter:—

"20 *Oct.* 1767.

"My Lord,

"As soon as I received the letter you did me the honour of writing me on the 26th July last, I handed it to His Excellency the Marquis de Grimaldi, who communicated it to the King, and His Majesty having taken the resolution which you will see from the translation of the letter appended, written me by the Minister, it only remains to make suitable arrangements for executing the plan therein contained. I need not dwell here on the question of the great importance that silence should be maintained in this matter, but I can hardly express to you the pleasure I feel, my Lord, at the King's resolution being so much in accordance with the plan you had proposed. We could, from so just and so pious a monarch, only expect a decision which, whilst fulfilling His Majesty's views, will sustain the remnants of our holy religion in England.

"I await to be informed by you of the dispositions you

[1] Bishop Challoner to the Prince de Masserano, 26th July, 1767, Westminster Archives.

[2] The French translation sent by Prince de Masserano to Dr. Challoner and his letter are in the Westminster Archives, with other correspondence on the subject between Mgr. Azpuru at Madrid and Cardinal Lanti and Dr. C. Stonor at Rome. In the Southwark Archives (*Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 91) there is "Memorial to ye Duke (of York) about ye Spanish Colleges," and a long *Memoria intorno i collegii Inglesi fondati in Ispagna.*

will make, in order that I may communicate them to the Court, and I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

"PRINCE DE MASSERANO.

"LONDON, *this 20th October* 1767.

"To the Lord Bishop of Debra."

"Translation of the letter which His Excellency the Marquis de Grimaldi, Secretary of State to His Catholic Majesty, wrote to His Excellency Prince de Masserano, Ambassador Extraordinary of Spain and London.

"14 *Sept.* 1767.

"SIR,

"In consideration of the letter written by the Bishop of Debra, in his name and in that of the English Catholic clergy, which Your Excellency delivered to me recently in relation to the colleges which belong to the English nation in Spain, and of which the members of the Society, banished from the kingdom, had possessed themselves, the King has been pleased to take the resolution, in concurrence with the opinion of the Extraordinary Council, that henceforward all the revenues and endowments which were possessed by the colleges of St. George of Madrid and Seville shall be combined with those of the English college of St. Alban in Valladolid, which shall remain the sole college for studies, with the precautions which the said Bishop of Debra requests, and with such declarations, in such manner and such suitable order as may be prescribed, in order that it may benefit the English mission, the said mission having so unfortunately been deprived thereof during the whole of the time that the members of the Society had the administration: the Council will consult His Majesty in the whole matter for final settlement.

"In this circumstance will Your Excellency make known to the said Catholic clergy that they can send immediately and without awakening noise and notice, ten pupils to the College of Valladolid, besides the two they have there at the present time, with a capable and God-fearing priest who will serve as their rector, another as professor of dogmatic and polemic theology, and another as professor of literature, the latter on

condition that he shall teach the young pupils who will attend there Latin and rhetoric, in view of the impossibility, pointed out by the said Bishop of Debra, for many Catholics to have this lower instruction given to their children in England; this being as he states in accordance with the usage in Douay, Lisbon and Rome.

"That it is expedient that the selection of the rector and the two professors shall be made among eminent persons of the same nation, who may be either in England or elsewhere; great care being taken that they shall be persons who can fulfil their engagements, and that on their part all possible silence should be observed, in order not to draw upon themselves persecution or jealousy on the part of the Government, since there is no other object than that of maintaining the Catholic religion.

"And in order to defray the costs of the voyage of the pupils, the rector and the professors, one thousand pesos will be placed at the disposal of Your Excellency through the Royal Bank.

"I acquaint Your Excellency with all the foregoing by order of His Majesty, in order that it may be fulfilled.

"At St. Ildephonso, this 14th day of September, 1767.
Signed in the original, the Marquis de Grimaldi.
To His Excellency the Prince de Masserano."

To fulfil the terms of this letter, Dr. Challoner had now to find a rector, two professors and ten students. He decided that the simplest way of providing the latter was to draft eight lads from Douay under the care of a master who would remain as one of the two professors. For this purpose the President of Douay chose the future bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the London District, John Douglass, then a young priest twenty-five years of age.

For the office of rector Bishop Challoner chose Dr. Philip Mark Perry, who had been educated at Douay and St. Gregory's, Paris. Having served the English mission for nearly fifteen years, he had been living since 1765 with Bishop Hornyold at Longbirch in Staffordshire. He was a capable and studious man, well fitted by his independent character to undertake the work of re-establishing the college.

On the 10th of November, 1767, Bishop Challoner wrote begging him to accept the office of president:—

"The late revolution in Spain called for our attention and vigilant care to save the English houses there, originally instituted for the bringing up Clergy for our mission from being involved in the common fate of those who had the administration of them. We have, therefore, applied to that Court putting in our claim to those houses, as our undoubted right: our claim has been admitted, and from this time the rents and revenues of all those houses are to be appropriated to the bringing up English Clergy under English Clergy superiors in the fine College of Valladolid (which has formerly brought forth many great men, and, above all, glorious martyrs) and which is immediately to be put into our hands. And now we are called upon to send over, without loss of time, a proper Rector or superior, a Professor to teach dogmatic and polemical Divinity to the two alumni that are there and a professor of humanity with eight scholars, and all charges of the journey will be furnished by the Embassy here. This, dear Sir, we all look upon to be a signal favour of the Almighty and like to be of very great benefit to our clergy and mission, and which therefore calls upon us all, as it is the common cause of us all, to join our endeavours in procuring and sending over with all convenient speed, a proper Superior with procurator and professors to establish that house upon a solid foundation and that it may effectually answer the great designs of its original institution. Now we that are here, and those we have consulted elsewhere, join in opinion that we can send no one more proper than yourself upon this great and important commission in which the glory of God and the salvation of souls are so deeply concerned; and we trust that His divine goodness will inspire you to accept of this charge, and to put it in execution, making a sacrifice of what repugnances you may find, to the common good of the welfare of the mission, to the cause of God and His church, in a word to the holy Will of God. You will be pleased to impart this to Messrs. Hornyold and Talbot. And I hope my God will inspire them also to forward this great work by concurring with us in pressing your acceptance, lest all this glorious prospect we have now before our eyes should sink into the earth for want of proper superiors to begin

and carry on this work of God. The choice of the professors, if you are pleased to accept of the superiority, will depend on you: therefore we shall not look out for them till we hear from you, which we beg may be with all convenient speed."

Dr. Perry made a speedy reply, and, though he had no personal inclination for the undertaking, yet he thought under the circumstances he ought to place himself at the disposal of the bishop. However, he pointed out the reasons which made him reluctant to take upon himself the burden. In a letter written on the 19th of November, the bishop thanks him for his readiness to obey if called upon, and endeavours to allay his apprehensions:—

"The sincere dispositions I discover in your letter to sacrifice your own inclinations and the repugnances you speak of, to the common cause of the greater glory of God and the good of religion, make you dearer to me than ever. And I trust in my God that He will requite this sacrifice you are disposed to make to Him by removing or qualifying at least the difficulties you apprehend in the discharge of this commission, which His divine Providence seems to have designed for you, and which, if you should not accept of, might be in danger of passing into such hands as we should not wish. As for our looking out for another, besides that we know not any one, all circumstances considered, as proper as yourself (and this is the general opinion of our brethren) the time to be spent in this search, and the difficulty of procuring the consent of patrons, as in the case of Mr. Lodge, and of having places properly supplied, would expose us to such delays as might endanger giving great offence to the Spanish Court, who would think we are very indifferent about the favours, and might drop the whole or turn their thoughts another way. They want us to take possession out of hand, and we would gladly do so. At least we are desirous of assuring them without loss of time that we have engaged one, whom we all esteem to be duly qualified for the superiority, to come as soon as possible to take possession. Now this, your consent, dear Sir, will enable us to do. After this we must, with your concurrence, choose the two Professors that are wanted, one of whom you may also make Procurator, who will ease you as to what relates to your accounts. As to your health I hope you will find the climate

more agreeable than you apprehend. But after all, if you shall find it otherwise, no one will require of you to continue there with danger of your life; and it will be no hard matter to relieve you after possession acquired, and the house is once established upon a good bottom, by sending you a successor. Take courage, then, dear Sir, and bow down your head to the holy will of God, which seems clearly to point out to you the place where He would be glorified by you, and let us have the pleasure of hearing your determinate resolution without delay, that we give notice of to our Spanish friends."

Finally Dr. Perry consented to go to Valladolid as president, and by the end of November everything was arranged, as appears by the following letter.[1]

"For
"Mr. P. Perry at Longbirch
"near Wolverhampton
"Staffordshire

"Dear Sir,

"Many thanks to you for the favour of your last. And assure yourself nothing shall be wanting on our part to make all things agreeable to your desires, to the utmost of our power. We shall accordingly apply to the Ambassador without loss of time, and write to Doway by to morrow's poste, and have a proper assistant ready to bear you company. I could have wished to have had you in our house during your stay in town, but our apartments at present are all occupied. But B. Talbot desires me to tell you, that you shall be welcome to lodge at his house: and I shall be always glad to have as much of your company, as you can give me. I remain

"Dear Sir
"Your obliged humble servant
"R. C.

"*Nov.* 26, 1767.

"My compliments to Br. Hornyold."

The "proper assistant" here promised was found in the Rev. Joseph Shepherd, who accompanied Dr. Perry as vice-

[1] Dr. Challoner to Dr. Perry, Nov. 26, 1767, Valladolid Archives.

rector and professor of theology. He also was a former student of Douay, so that the influence of the old English College was strong in the reorganisation of Valladolid. It was even arranged that Dr. Perry and Mr. Shepherd should go to Douay on their way to Spain, and their visit is recorded in the college diary.[1] They set out from the college on the 3rd of January and Mr. Douglass with the students followed them on the 20th of May.

It would seem from the letter of introduction[2] with which the bishop furnished Mr. Douglass, that the young Douay priest was also somewhat averse to going, but was equally resolute in preferring the will of his superiors to his own wishes.

"To Dr. Perry.

"Mr. Douglass, the bearer, yielding to the earnest desire of us all and sacrificing his own private inclinations to the interest of the common cause and his own will to the holy will of God, comes to your assistance bringing with him a set of hopeful youths to be educated in your family. I make no question of his meeting with a hearty welcome from you, and that you will put him upon equal footing with the gentleman that accompanied you, as indeed we have promised him, for it might be very disagreeable if one of them was to claim any jurisdiction over the other. We could also wish that both the one and the other should take their degrees in divinity, which would at present be very easy to Mr. Douglass who has been preparing this year for defending [word illegible]. May our great and good God give His blessing to you and yours for the greater glory of His own name and the salvation of souls redeemed by the precious blood of His Son."

That the new work had its difficulties, appears from two

[1] Under the year 1768. "Sed et illud memoria dignum, quod hoc eodem anno incipiente, die nimirum 3^tio^ Januarii ad Collegium Jesuitarum Expulsorum Vallisoleti occupandum hinc decesserunt sapientissimus Dominus Philippus Perry, Doctor Sorbonicus, praeses designatus, et Reverendus D. Josephus Shepherd electus vicepraeses, qui in Hispaniam perventi, magnam apud proceres regni gratiam invenerunt et annuos redditus Collegii etiam Hispalensis Anglicani cum illis Vallisoleti adunitos atque duas villas locupletes receperunt." *Diarium Septimum*, p. 339. Bishop Challoner's testimonial letters dated 9 December, 1767, and his letter of commendation in favour of Dr. Perry addressed to the bishop of Valladolid (11 December, 1767), are preserved in the Valladolid Archives, I. n. 19.

[2] Letter-Book, p. 103.

long letters dated July, 1768, which Bishop Challoner found it necessary to write, one to the president and the other to the two professors, in which he earnestly exhorts them to peace and harmony. In these letters[1] he refers to "a contest between you," and begs them "to put away on both sides whatever may give any offence or uneasiness to one another". He also gives Dr. Perry some advice as to government, while at the same time leaving him an entirely free hand. Thus on the subject of rules he says: "I know not [what] your Court may ordain. If they are left to your or our choice I know no better than those of Douay." In the same spirit of suggestion he lays down the general principles which should govern the relations between president and professors, but always without enforcing any hard and fast line of conduct. Though at the same time he warns him plainly that any lasting disagreement would lead to "the worst of consequences and even the failure of the whole enterprise".

Whatever the nature of these differences may have been, they appear to have been successfully overcome, for the future history of the college was prosperous.

At Valladolid Dr. Perry and his companions met with the kindest reception, and at the end of 1769 the President was able to make such a report of the continued assistance which had been afforded him, that Dr. Challoner and his coadjutor addressed a joint letter of acknowledgment to Count de Aranda and the other members of the King's Council.[2]

In June, 1770, Dr. Challoner received an extremely cordial letter from a Spanish official who signs himself Petrus Rodriguez de Campomanes, in which he reports that all goes well with the English College at Valladolid, but that a third professor and six or eight more students are needed. He adds that the final disposition of the property of the Scottish colleges awaits the coming of their agent. In this matter, too, Bishop Challoner had been able to be of some use, by obtaining through the Spanish ambassador an understanding that the Scottish property should not be dealt with till the vicars apostolic in Scotland could send a representative to present their case. The writer, however, doubted whether the revenues were sufficient to support a rector, professors and students;

[1] Letter-Book, pp. 106-9. [2] Westminster Archives.

but he would do all in his power to protect the rights of the Scottish Mission.

To this letter Dr. Challoner replied on the 7th of October, 1770, announcing that he was sending a third professor from Douay, a priest named William Fryer, distinguished for holiness, prudence and learning, who would bring with him six more young men.

In this way the rehabilitation of the English College at Valladolid was, with the aid of Douay, successfully brought about, with what valuable results subsequent history has shown.

The English College at Lisbon, having always been under secular control, was not affected by the misfortunes of the Jesuits, but by 1770 it was in a state of disorder which demanded immediate remedy, if it was to continue in existence. Bishop Challoner, however, had too deep a regard for it to allow it to perish without making a strenuous effort on its behalf. In the first place, it had been the *Alma Mater* of his own master, John Gother, whose body lay within its chapel; and further he had a deep sense of the great work it had done in the past. "This College," he wrote, "from its first foundation, has been of signal service to the English Mission by the number of labourers it has sent over, and the great fruits their labours have produced."[1]

The college had been founded in 1622 by an English priest named William Newman, and a Portuguese gentleman, Don Pedro Countinho, in pursuance of the plan of another secular priest, Nicholas Ashton, who had bequeathed his house for the foundation of a seminary for English priests. For a hundred years it had flourished, and had a long roll of distinguished alumni, including such names as John Gother, John Serjeant the controversialist, and Richard Russell, bishop successively of two Portuguese Sees, Portalegre and Vizeu.

But early in the eighteenth century misfortunes began to fall upon it. Funds were lost in the unfortunate Paris investments, from which Douay had suffered so much; the value of the small rent-roll persistently shrank; large sums were required for the rebuilding of the college which became an ab-

[1] *The Case of the English College of Lisbon* (Draft in his writing, Westminster Archives). Another copy also written by him and sent to Bishop Walton is at Ushaw (Ushaw Collections, vol. ii., 591).

solute necessity, and finally came the crowning disaster of the great earthquake of 1755, in which the president was killed and the fabric shattered. In addition to these material troubles the ancient spirit of the house had been lost and there were grave abuses and dissensions. Dr. Kirk in his *Historical Account of Lisbon College*,[1] describes the spirit of insubordination among the students, which had manifested itself even before the earthquake "in every form of disobedience, contumacy and insult," and the new president, Dr. Gerard Barnard, was not the man required to cope with the chaotic state of affairs that ensued.[2] Things went from bad to worse; and in an undated document endorsed "Disorders of Lisbon College," Dr. Challoner has left in his own writing a sad account of the condition of the college as it was reported to him.[3]

According to this statement, there was a total decay of the spirit of learning and piety which should reign in a college; there had been "no public devotions for many years," but "a spirit of worldliness or traffic [had] crept into the house". The superiors were accused of "a spirit of haughtiness and domination towards the scholars, treating them with roughness, harshness and contempt". It is further stated that they did not supply the students with proper clothes or necessaries, and rejected their petitions for redress "with harshness and disdain". On the other hand, the students are said "to caball together, to entertain themselves privately with wine, to meet in parties and to run from the house". The document concludes: "For these twenty-five years no course hath been compleated, no masters bred up, no missioners sent over, and yet an immense sum of money consumed".

Though there may have been some foundation for these charges, it seems probable that in some respects they had been exaggerated, for it must not be forgotten that during this very period, the college was served by two priests, John Preston and Jerome Allen, both men of the highest character, and the latter a personal friend of Bishop Challoner. If the bishop's report was written after 1774 it is possible that his

[1] Edited by Canon Croft. London (St. Anselm's Society), 1902, p. 70.

[2] In the Bishop's Letter-Book, p. 34, there is a letter addressed to the superiors of Lisbon College pointing out the evils arising from too great intimacy with the English families settled there. This is dated Dec., 1753. Other letters relating to the administration of the college are found in the same book, pp. 89, 131-32.

[3] Westminster Archives.

information may have been received from Jerome Allen, who returned to London in that year and who was often in the bishop's company.[1] Some support is afforded to this conjecture by the fact that it was in 1775 that Dr. Challoner took definite steps to reform the college.

But whatever the source of the bishop's information, he set himself to the task of reformation. His first care was to seek financial help, so that, if all difficulties on this head were removed, or at any rate diminished, it would be easier to find a suitable priest to undertake the spiritual reorganisation of the house. He accordingly drew up an appeal to the laity for help, copies of which he sent to the other vicars apostolic that they might publish it broadcast.[2] He himself approached the Duke of Norfolk on the subject, and there is at Ushaw a letter in which he asks Bishop Walton: "Would not Mrs. Maire think of us on this occasion?" Mrs. Maire must have answered favourably, for Dr. Walton was able to send £50 to Bishop Challoner, who, in the event, was enabled to raise a considerable sum of money for the needs of the college;[3] and Allen on his return to Lisbon was able to enlist the sympathy of the Portuguese court in the same cause.

The next step was to secure a superior better fitted to rule the college than Dr. Gerard Barnard had shown himself. Dr. Challoner's letter to Bishop Walton, thanking him for his remittance, shows that this subject was occupying his mind, although no solution had as yet presented itself.[4]

[1] See *Historical Account of Lisbon College*, p. 82, where a portrait of Allen is given. In connection with Jerome Allen we may here repeat a little story narrated by Dr. Kirk, which illustrates the bishop's method of conveying a gentle rebuke, and which was frequently recalled by Allen himself. The good priest was inclined, it is said, to be loquacious, and "one day, after a dinner at which Dr. Challoner was present, and a select party of priests, and during which Father Allen had in a great measure engrossed the conversation, the bishop just as he was taking leave, tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Friend Allen, *in multiloquio non deerit peccatum!*'"

[2] See Appendix E.

[3] In the *Historical Account of Lisbon College* (p. 82) Dr. Challoner's appeal is attributed to the influence of Jerome Allen, who was about to return to Portugal owing to the death of King Joseph I. and the subsequent return to power of Allen's Portuguese political friends. But, as the documents show, Challoner's appeal was issued in 1775, so that if, as is quite likely, he was led to interest himself through "Friend Allen," it must have been without reference to the Portuguese political situation.

[4] Ushaw Archives, Ushaw Coll., vol. ii.

"Hond Dear Sir

"Yours with the enclosed draught for 50-ll. came safe to hand, for which you have here my thanks. God reward the good Lady, our benefactrix, and all other contributors to this great charity: for I cannot but esteem it a great charity to draw that seminary out of the pit into wch they are fallen, even though we were to suppose, that there has been some fault on their side in their falling into it. However, we must and shall, God willing, use our best endeavours to have all such faults corrected and amended for the future. The most effectual means for this would be the change you mention of Superiors: but this will meet with great difficulties: Mr. Preston, who is the only man that could be thought of for president, as I am informed by good authority, will absolutely refuse to accept of the presidentship: and where shall we find anyone here, in our present necessity, whom we could send over for that office. In the meantime we have already written a letter to the present superiors insisting upon a reformation of all such things in which we apprehended them to be faulty.

"As to the Jubily, it is not the stile for us to petition for it, as I find by the last *Extensio Jubilei* &c. by Ben[edict] 14 anno·1751. It will be granted of course to the whole Catholic world. I have desired our friends at Hilton to give us an early notice when the grant comes out. In the meantime and always, I remain,

"Hond Dear Sir,

"Ever yours in our Lord,

"RICHARD CHALLONER.

"*Nov. 2nd* 1775."

The letter here referred to is found in draft in the Letter-Book (p. 131), but the bishop made so many alterations and corrections in his wording that it is difficult to decipher the final text. Having begun by saying that he had lost no time in using his best endeavours to procure immediate relief, he holds out hopes of success, unless God will punish them in this way "as we have but too much reason to apprehend by what we daily see,—that for the sins of both priests and people the wrath of God is enkindled against this poor remnant of His Church in this nation".

He then continues :—

"But here whilst we are using our best endeavours to retrieve the temporal estate of your house, we must not dissemble that we are much more concerned for its reformation in spirituals agreeably to its original destination and institution, which was to train up youth and fit them for the functions in piety and learning. Now we are not a little surprised that for so many years past out of a great number which have been sent to you within ten years, almost all have come away *re infecta*,[1] which we know not what cause can be attributed to; but the world will not fail to suspect some fault on the part of superiors, either by omission of the necessary care of grounding them well in piety and devotion, or not keeping away from them that dangerous occasion of bad company, or, which is the worst of all, encouraging them in the love of drink; than which nothing can be more opposite, not only to the ecclesiastical spirit, but even to the spirit of Christianity, and which has been the bane of so many priests. This, therefore, we must earnestly beg of you for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, that you would henceforward spare no pains to remove from your *élèves* as well by your daily exhortations, as by what will be most effectual with them, the example of your own sincere piety, devotion, temperance and mortification. For if this should be wanting, all the hopes we have conceived of the reestablishment of your College would fall to the ground.

"As to the rest, we must also earnestly recommend to you good economy in managing the rents etc. of the house and retrenching all unnecessary expenses, either by pretext of improvements in ye [*illegible contraction*] or any other occasions. And hence as our collections and contributions have for their first object the discharging the house from its load of debt, we insist upon it that what we shall send over shall be presently applied by Mr. Preston to the immediate discharge of such debts as you pay 5 p.c. interest for; and that he will be pleased to keep a proper account of the *accepta* on this score, and send over to your Agent here proper vouchers of the disbursements made, and this for our satisfaction and that of other contributors."

[1] The customary expression applied to a student for the priesthood who ultimately decided not to take orders.

A little later he writes again with news of the generous response that had been made to his appeal.[1]

"MESSIEURS,

"The success with which the divine goodness has pleased to bless our endeavours in procuring the necessary sum for discharging the debts of your house, has exceeded our expectation, and with the help of further contributions, even raised our hopes of seeing *Bairo Alto* restored to her former flourishing condition as to her temporals; and, at the same time, by the zeal and diligent activity of superiors to be enabled to recover with regard to spirituals, which are of far greater importance."

This letter ends by announcing that "it will be *ad majorem Dei gloriam* to release the President from that burden which his age and infirmity will scarce allow him to bear any longer, and to give him a successor".

Dr. Challoner subsequently discovered a suitable man in the person of the Rev. James Barnard, who was to become his biographer. The new president, who was a convert, having been received into the Church at an early age in Seville, had himself studied his theology at Lisbon from 1758 to 1761. He was therefore well acquainted with the college, and his business-like habits, coupled with his deeply spiritual character, made him appear an ideal man for the post. He retained the assistance of John Preston and Jerome Allen, and was successful in arresting the downward progress of the college. He continued to hold his position until after Dr. Challoner's death. The subsequent history of the college and the large number of priests it has since given to the English Mission, have long ago amply repaid the exertions and interest which the bishop devoted to it.

But while Bishop Challoner was rejoicing over the new prospects at Valladolid, and giving care to the rehabilitation of Lisbon, he had cause for some misgiving with regard to his own loved college at Douay. Things were not going very well there in the year 1770. Dr. William Green, who had ruled it so well since the death of Dr. Thornburgh in 1750, was now in such weak health that he could no longer efficiently

[1] Westminster Archives, Letter-Book, p. 132.

discharge his duties; and, moreover, there was loss of mental power so marked that it was clear he would never again be fit for his work. Already regrettable consequences were making themselves felt, and rumours reached the bishop that the discipline of the house was becoming relaxed, and that other evils were developing.

Things finally came to such a pass that in June, 1769, Bishop Challoner felt it his duty to petition Propaganda to appoint a new president. For this purpose he presented the names of four priests, Henry Tichborne Blount, who had laboured so hard in the cause of St. Omer; William Walton, the future bishop[1]; John Dunn, and John Lodge. All four had taught theology at the English College and were men suitable in other ways. At the same time the petition asked that Dr. Green might remain at the college and be properly supported there for the rest of his days.[1]

The choice of Propaganda fell upon Mr. Blount, who accordingly took office, and set to work to remedy the evils that had begun to creep in. Bishop Challoner took the opportunity to write him a long letter of advice, partly personal, but chiefly as to the difficulties before him and the best manner of meeting them. The bishop kept a rough draft of this letter which is still in the Diocesan Archives. It is difficult to decipher in parts, owing to the contractions he made use of and corrections and interlineations in which it abounds. It is a document of some length, interesting in itself and characteristic of the bishop; deeply spiritual in tone and at the same time thoroughly practical; marked with shrewd wisdom, too, and, above all, not discouraged by danger, but hopeful and confident of better things. Whatever is done, must be done from the outset in a spirit of self-distrust and absolute reliance on God:—

"(I) recommend (you) to set out in obedience to the Divine Will notified by the will and appointment of superiors, with an entire distrust in yourself, but a most firm confidence in Him who loves to shew his strength in the weakest instruments, who are sensible of their own inability and misery and there-

[1] Dr. Green did not long survive his retirement, but died at the College on the 1st of December, 1770.

fore fling themselves entirely upon Him, *Ecce venio.* Take Him along with you, when you are going about in His work and He will stand by you: recommend also yourself and yours to the protection and the prayers of our holy martyrs.

"Begin by strongly and sweetly recommending to all, the observance of the rules, and pressing all other superiors to join with you in vigorously opposing and effectually reforming all abuses which have crept in contrary not only to the discipline of the college, but to the ecclesiastical or even Christian spirit."

He then enumerates the points on which reformation was most needed, especially those which tended to foster a self-indulgent spirit in the future priests. "What sort of men," he asks, "will our old Mother send amongst us, who are not only quite strangers to the mortified and penitential spirit of the Gospel, but even to common justice and honesty, as some of them have shown by the number of debts they contract amongst the laity to the great scandal of religion?"

"That with the blessing of God you may readily extirpate these abuses," he continues, "employ diligently your talent in preaching and exhorting in public or private. Turn also the subjects of your weekly conferences on this kind of subjects (of piety, virtues and qualifications) and never fail to say something yourself on those occasions."

The bishop then passes to the subject of choice of candidates for the priesthood, and writes words as weighty and to the point now, as on the day on which they were written.

"Have a particular eye upon all that are designed for the Church or that aspire that way. And be not easy in admitting such as do not give sufficient marks of a calling by their piety and regularity; or whose conduct is but equivocal, however they may shine as to wit or learning, and, by no means and upon no consideration, such as may be apprehended habitually addicted to any vice. Nor yet such as are incapable of attaining to necessary learning, or whose oddity of temper, or crack in the family, or behaviour, or want of common discretion disqualifies for the calling.

"And here I cannot but lament that greater care has not always been taken in the choice of those that have been admitted and even sent amongst us, some of whom have wanted common sense; and that many who were sent upon funds

have been suffered to continue for years after it was evident they were unlike to come to anything, occupying the place of more hopeful subjects. Prefect, professors etc. should have an eye to this, and give timely warning or notice to Superiors that such ought to be sent away without loss of time. And this you should insist on."

He ends with some practical points. "As to the studies in general I should not advise putting your people out of their old track, or admitting of any innovations without mature deliberation and advice from here. I could wish that English were more taken notice of, both to read it and write it well; but then good care ought to be taken in the choice of books to be put into your people's hands, for this purpose. I could also wish that your youths who are growing up were not kept so long grovelling in the lower schools. And as to penances I think it would be much better on many occasions if whipping were not so frequent, and other ways were found out which might be no less effectual and more decent and becoming ecclesiastics.

"As to the rest, such as you admit, take all possible care to procure for them all necessary instructions and special helps; and train them up to a proper way of preaching, exhorting, instructing, directing etc. And, though they are not to neglect their school, make them sensible that the most necessary application for them, if they would either save themselves or others, is the science of the Saints, to be learnt in the school of their hearts, by diligence in prayer and the study of the manifold duties and functions of the priesthood."

These were the thoughts of the old, experienced bishop, who had known the college from within for a quarter of a century, and who since then had had forty years' experience of the priests, good and bad, that had come from it to the English Mission. Now he sat in his narrow London lodgings, burdened with the daily anxieties arising from the informers and their petty persecution, yet finding leisure to turn his thoughts to his "old Mother," and write wise words for her superiors to ponder, as well as helping her by his prayers on her behalf.

It is good to remember, too, that his prayers were heard, and his efforts were successful. The new president was able to right what was wrong, and the last years of the old college were worthy of her earlier history. For her days were now

numbered, and the time was fast coming when her priests and students were to be driven from her walls during the French Revolution. But it was fitting that the college, which had been born in the great persecution of the Catholic faith in England, and had been the Mother of many martyrs, should herself meet her end at the hands of the enemies of all Christianity. She was faithful to her trust to the last, and among her latest sons were the men who knew how to restore her spirit in the new colleges that they were to raise in England to carry on her work.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BISHOP CHALLONER'S AMERICAN JURISDICTION.

1758-1781.

THE jurisdiction which the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District exercised over all British colonial possessions in America was a thing so distinct from his usual duties that it can be treated most conveniently as a subject apart. And, therefore, the narrative of Dr. Challoner's life will here be interrupted by the insertion of a chapter devoted exclusively to this aspect of his office.

The subject is an obscure one. It has been passed over in absolute silence by all Dr. Challoner's biographers, and no information was available until Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., began his researches for his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*. Although the published portion of this exhaustive work deals with a much earlier period than that with which this book is concerned, Father Hughes has published some of the results of his labour with regard to the eighteenth century in an article which appeared in the *Dublin Review*[1] entitled "The London Vicariate Apostolic and the West Indies, 1685-1819". This article, brief as it is, contains most valuable information, and as almost all the material there brought together was drawn from original sources and is of the first value, considerable use of it has been made in this chapter. These conclusions have been supplemented by the results of careful search among the archives of the London District, yet there is good reason to hope that further investigation in other directions may bring to light much fresh information on a point of such vital interest to the Catholics of the United States.

From the death of Bishop Petre in 1758 to his own death

[1] Vol. 134, No. 268, January, 1904.

in 1781, Bishop Challoner was the single ecclesiastical superior of all the Catholics in the British colonies then held by England in North America and the West Indies, with the single exception of Canada, which already had episcopal government when it became an English dominion. The origin of this jurisdiction remains unknown. Presumably these colonies were annexed to the London Vicariate because London was the capital of the rapidly growing empire, but in the complete absence of information no explanation can be advanced as final.

Before Pope Innocent XI. created the vicariates in 1688 there was no episcopal authority in the American colonies. Father Henry Harrison, S.J., who was a missionary in New York before that time, reported some years later: "When I was sent by my Superior to those missions, there were not as yet any English Catholic bishops. Afterwards four such were created under the Catholic king, James. But to which one of them the aforesaid countries are subject, I do not know. At all events, when I was in those missions, there was no Vicar Apostolic there: but all the missionaries depended upon their regular superiors alone."[1]

In the same letter he describes the English possessions in North America and the West Indies as consisting of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, New England and Nova Scotia, together with the Islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Montserrat, Bermuda and part of St. Kitt's.

The earliest instance Father Hughes has discovered of the Vicar Apostolic of London exercising jurisdiction in these colonies, is in 1722, when Bishop Giffard expressed his approval of a regulation proposed for the observance of holy days in Maryland. In the following year he gave a number of powers with regard to matrimonial dispensations and other matters to the Maryland missionaries; and his Vicar General, Mr. Barker, told a new missionary, Father James Case, S.J., that they might say the Office of St. George with an octave, and make use of all other privileges granted to and enjoyed in England, because they were "part of and belonging to the London District".[2]

[1] Letter to Father Francis Porter, S.J. (Rome), dated August 12, 1695, cited by Father Hughes in the *Dublin Review* under reference "Propaganda Archives, America, Antille I., f. 287".

[2] Maryland—New York Province Archives, S.J., as cited in the *Dublin Review*, cxxxiv., p. 70.



BISHOP CHALLONER'S AMERICAN JURISDICTION.

Now, it is not likely that Bishop Giffard would suddenly have begun to exercise faculties in these remote lands without the sanction of Propaganda in some shape. Yet there is no record in the Westminster Archives of any formal document to that effect. In a report drawn up in Rome, on the 15th of February, 1753, and now in the Archives of Propaganda, the writer states that he believes the priests in the West Indies get their faculties from the vicar apostolic in London; and he thinks he had heard that the Sacred Congregation had assigned this charge to the vicar.[1]

About this time the matter was being carefully looked into either at the instance of Propaganda or of the Vicar Apostolic of London, Bishop Petre. In September, 1756, Dr. Challoner wrote the following letter which is valuable as being professedly the best account he could give of the state of religion in the American settlements, and as showing that Bishop Petre was unaware of the origin or history of this jurisdiction.[2]

"As to the state of religion in our American settlements; the best account I can give is:—

"1. There are no missioners in any of our colonies upon the continent, excepting Mariland and Pensilvania; in which the exercise of the Catholic religion is in some measure tolerated. I have had different accounts as to their numbers in Mariland where they are the most numerous. By one account they were about 5,000 communicants: another makes them amount to about 7,000: but perhaps the latter might design to include those in Pensilvania; where I believe there may be about 2,000. There are about twelve missioners in Mariland, and four in Pensilvania, all of them of the Society. These also assist some few Catholics in Virginia, upon the borders of Mariland, and in N. Jersey bordering upon Pensilvania. As to the rest of the provinces upon the continent, N. England, N. York, etc., if there be any straggling Catholics, they can have no exercise of their religion, as no priests ever come near them: nor, to judge by what appears to be the present disposition of the inhabitants, are ever like to be admitted amongst them.

[1] *Dublin Review*, p. 73. The reference is "Propaganda Archives, America, Antille I., f. 412".

[2] Westminster Archives, *Epistolæ Variorum*, vol. xiii., No. 135.

"2. As to the islands, the state of religion is much worse than on the continent. The Catholics we have there are chiefly Irish; and neither priests nor people are half so regular as the Marilandians and Pensilvanians are. In Jamaica there are many Catholics; and two priests in our time have made some attempt to settle there, but could not succeed. The inhabitants are looked upon to be generally almost abandoned wicked people. In Barbadoes there was an Irish Augustinian who apostatized. The few Catholics there have sometimes been helped from Montserrat. This latter, which is one of the least of our Islands, has the greatest number of Catholics, such as they are, under the care of two Irish missioners: but little or nothing is done by them with relation to the care of their negroes who are numerous. There are also some Irish Catholics in the Islands of Antegoa, under the care of a Dominican, who happens to be now in town, and gives us a very indifferent account of the practice of religion among his countrymen there. There are also a few Catholics in the island of St. Christopher's, who are helped sometimes from Montserrat. And not long ago an Irish Augustinian took out faculties here to go and settle in Newfoundland, for the help of a number of his countrymen that were drawn thither by the fishing trade. I take no notice of the neutral French and Indians in Acadia who had their priests from Canada, but have been lately translated hither upon occasion of this present war.

"3. All our settlements in America have been deemed subject in spirituals to the ecclesiastical Superiors here, and this has been time out of mind, even, I believe, from the time of the Archpriests. I know not the origin of this, nor have ever met with the original grant. I suppose they were looked upon as appurtenances or appendixes of the English Mission. And, after the division of this kingdom into four districts, the jurisdiction over the Catholicks in those settlements has followed the London district (as they are all reputed by the English as part of the London diocese); I suppose because London is the capital of the British Empire; and from hence are the most frequent opportunities of a proper correspondence with all those settlements. Whether the Holy See has ordered anything in this regard, I cannot learn. But all the missioners in those settlements do now, and have, time out of mind, applied

to the Vicar Apostolic here for their faculties, which is true of the *padri* also [the Jesuits] in Mariland and Pennsilvania; at least from the time of the Breve of Innocent XII. in 1696, only that they used rather to ask for approbation, but now also for faculties.

"4. Some have wished, considering the number of the faithful, especially in those two provinces, destitute of the sacrament of confirmation, and lying at so great a distance from us, that a bishop or vicar apostolic should be appointed for them. But how far this may be judged practicable by our superiors I know not: especially as perhaps it may not be relished, by those who have engrossed that best part of the mission to themselves, and who may, not without show of probability, object that a novelty of this kind might give offence to the governing part there; who have been a little hard upon them of late years. This with my respects you will be pleased to communicate to Mr. Larker[1] from his and your servant in Christ,

"J. FISHER."

On receipt of this letter a search was made in the Archives of Propaganda with the result described in the following Memorandum:—

"No document is found in these archives to show that the charge of despatching missionaries to the islands or mainland of America was ever invested in the Archpriests of England, prior to the foundation of this Sacred Congregation; nor again in the Vicars-Apostolic who were appointed for that kingdom after the said date; nor that any superintendence over the missionaries or the missions was committed to them. Rather, from the precedents which are on file in these archives, it appears that whenever, during the last century, any missionary had to be sent to the islands of America governed by the English, it was this Congregation that granted the missionary his letters patent; and it was the Holy Office [the Inquisition] which granted him his faculties; or else the matter was given in charge to the Cardinal Protector of England, who in those times was provided with ample faculties.

"When in 1688 there were appointed four Vicars-Apostolic in England, a division of districts was made; and within the

[1] Mgr. Lercari.

limits defined each was to exercise jurisdiction. Then, in the briefs despatched to each, there were enumerated the counties assigned in the division; just as is done at present in appointments to the said vicariates.

"Now in that of London it is expressly said:—'Having jurisdiction in the county of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Hartford, Sussex, Berkshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, in the Isle of Wight, in the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey'.

"Hence, since the places are expressly named where the Vicar-Apostolic of London ought to exercise jurisdiction, this cannot be extended to America. Nor is that reason adduced of any value that, when the division of the four districts was made in the time of James II., it was believed that the English colonies were comprised in the London district; seeing that this is to be understood of islands adjacent, and not of those in America." [1]

Early in 1757 the faculties of Bishop Petre were formally extended to the colonies and islands in America subject to the dominion of England. This arrangement took place under circumstances which are described in a memorandum endorsed on a later letter of Challoner at Propaganda:—[2]

"The Vicar-Apostolic of London thought that he could exercise jurisdiction in the colonies and islands subject to the English crown in America. When the Sacred Congregation asked him, in 1756, by what authority he did so, he answered that he had no document to that effect; but he had taken his stand on a supposition that such missions depended on him. Thereupon a relation being submitted about the state of the Catholic religion in the said islands and colonies, the Sacred Congregation, with the assent of the Pope, made good the acts up to that time; and for the future gave him power to exercise his faculties for six years in the same islands and colonies; and this jurisdiction was renewed for him, March 25th, 1759. When this affair was brought under consideration in 1756, there was some idea of having a Vicar-Apostolic appointed in

[1] *Dublin Review*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 79-80. Reference "Prop. Archives, America, Antille I., ff. 422-3".

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81. The reference is "Prop. Archives, America, Antille 2, ff. 27-8".

America, to exercise jurisdiction over the English settlements. But for the time being the matter was allowed to lie over, and the above arrangement was made for six years."

Things were in this state when Bishop Challoner became vicar apostolic on the 22nd of December, 1758, and consequently succeeded to all the faculties of his predecessor. But as the American faculties had been granted long after his own appointment as coadjutor, he doubted whether these passed to him with the rest. He accordingly applied to Propaganda, and on the 31st of March, 1759, he received a favourable reply.

The territory thus committed to Bishop Challoner's care was indeed vast, but owing to the fact that the exercise of the Catholic Religion was forbidden by law in all the colonies on the mainland except in Maryland and Pennsylvania, it was not in fact so extensive as would at first sight appear. Throughout the whole of Nova Scotia, New England, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Carolina and Georgia there were scarcely any Catholics and no missionaries. In Pennsylvania—a province almost entirely in the hands of the Society of Friends,—Catholics were generously treated, and allowed the free exercise of their religion; and they had long had a public church in Philadelphia. They numbered 6,000 or 7,000 and were served by five priests. These priests used to penetrate in disguise into New York and New Jersey, and secretly administer the sacraments to the scattered Catholics in those colonies. In Maryland, Catholics were numerous, as was natural, for Maryland was originally a Catholic colony founded by Lord Baltimore. His son, Leonard Calvert, led a party of emigrants there in 1634, landing on Lady Day in that year, and immediately offering up the Sacrifice of the Mass by the hands of Father Andrew White, one of the Jesuit missionaries who accompanied the expedition. The Catholic Government of Maryland offered civil and religious liberty to all, with the result that Episcopalians who were persecuted by Puritans in New England, and Puritans who were persecuted by Episcopalians in Virginia, alike found a place of refuge in Maryland, where under Catholic protection they could worship God after their own manner. It is sad to have to record that when in time the Protestants gained the upper hand, the return they made for this kindness was the total prohibition of Catholic worship.

The Church of England was then established with toleration for Dissenters, while Catholics were subjected to persecution. In the words of Bancroft, the Protestant historian: "In the land which Catholics had opened to Protestants the Catholic inhabitant was the sole victim to Anglican intolerance. Mass might not be said publicly. No Catholic bishop or priest might utter his faith in a voice of persuasion. No Catholic might teach the young." [1]

But the Catholic colonists, though oppressed and downtrodden in their own land, remained constant, and the fathers of the Society of Jesus laboured on with faithful zeal, so that Bishop Challoner was able to reckon some 16,000 Catholics there and twelve priests.

In the islands, as we have seen, there were very few Catholics except in Montserrat and St. Kitt's. The Montserrat Catholics were descended from Irish settlers who had been expelled from Virginia by the Episcopalians early in the seventeenth century because of their fidelity to their faith. When Leonard Calvert and his fellow-emigrants were making their voyage to Maryland early in 1634 they visited this little Catholic colony at Montserrat. The faith never died there, and there were one or two priests labouring there in 1753, when the Roman report as to the state of English America already referred to was drawn up. A few years later Bishop Challoner had three priests stationed there. In the other islands there were no priests, and the few Catholics there had to take advantage of the casual presence of any missioner who might chance to visit their shores. In 1760 two Irish Dominicans, who were ministering to Catholics in the islands belonging to Denmark, visited some of the English isles, especially St. Kitt's and Antigua. In a letter which they wrote to Father Charles O'Kelly, O.P., they say: "Write therefore to our Father Provincial, to send and commend to the Vicar Apostolic of London three capable missionaries for the British Islands [in the West Indies], if there are none who will come from England".[2]

[1] Bancroft, *History of the United States*, chap. xix., vol. ii., p. 22 (New York, 1885).

[2] *Dublin Review*, *loc. cit.*, p. 78. Reference, "Prop. Archives, America, Antille I., ff. 436-438".

As to Jamaica there is some information to be gained from a letter written by Bishop Challoner to Dr. Stonor with reference to an offer made to Propaganda to support a priest there. The application was made in Spanish by a certain Peter Lembec who volunteered to maintain a priest for Jamaica at his own expense. With regard to this the bishop writes:— [1]

"In consequence of which petition we are desired to look out a proper person, and to send him upon this errand. Now, we are making all the enquiry we can, but can as yet find no one amongst the Jamaica merchants or others that have any connections with that island, or are lately come from thence, who know anything at all of this Peter Lembec: much less can we hear of any remittances from him, or commissions to any merchants here to furnish the necessary charges to equip out, and send so long a voyage, such a person as he desires.

"As to the state of religion in that Island (which has the character of being a very wicked place) there are no doubt many Irish Catholics there, such as they are; and they have sometimes had priests amongst them, but these, meeting with little or no encouragement, the less as the government there is averse to Catholics, did not continue long upon the island. However, we shall be glad of making this new attempt; if we can find out this man that offers to furnish the means of better success: it being indeed a melancholy case that so many of our colonies should be quite destitute of all spiritual help. These things, with my dutiful respects, you will be pleased to represent to our Superiors; whose instructions we shall always endeavour to follow to the best of our ability.

"In the mean time, I remain

"Ever yours in Christ

"RICHARD DEBOREN."

Unfortunately the investigations made failed to discover Peter Lembec and nothing more was ever heard of him; so that there the matter rested.

Meanwhile the question had been complicated by the outbreak in 1756 of the great colonial war between Great Britain and France, which coincided with the Seven Years' War. In

[1] Letter to Dr. C. Stonor, Nov. 23, 1762. Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., No. 60.

North America and in India simultaneously England and France fought out the struggle for colonial supremacy, with the result that in 1759 General Wolfe's capture of Quebec ensured the conquest of Canada. When Spain threw in her lot with France, the naval warfare was marked by the successive captures of the islands of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, as well as the capitals of Cuba and the Philippines. By the Peace of Paris, signed in 1763, England was to keep her conquests in America, including Canada, while several islands were also ceded by the treaty, and thus a vast accession was made to the king's North American dominions.

In consequence of this increase in British territory Bishop Challoner now had to consider whether under the terms of his faculties he was or was not responsible for the spiritual well-being of Canada and the other new possessions. Under the circumstances, he felt bound to consult Propaganda. In a letter to Dr. Stonor dated 20th May, 1763, he thus writes :— [1]

"There is another thing also that at present calls for the attention of Superiors, in which we shall be glad to know their will. By our faculties you know we have the charge of the *islands and colonies of America subject to the dominion of the English.* By this last war and the articles of the ensuing peace, vast tracts of land in the Continent and divers islands have been added to the English dominions: Qu. Under whose jurisdiction as to spirituals are these new acquisitions to be? I suppose the diocese of Quebec is out of the question, because it has its own chapter, and capitular vicars. But the difficulty is chiefly about the islands of Grenados and Grenadillos, Dominica etc. where the French had divers priests, who, 'tis supposed, will continue there for the assistance of the inhabitants, and must have a succession kept up, for the keeping up the Catholic religion; which by the Articles they are allowed to maintain. We are not ambitious of any new burden in this kind; being so little able to discharge that we have already: but we expect that some will be soon applying to us for faculties in those parts and therefore should be glad to be directed what we are to do. These queries, with our duty, you will be pleased to present to Mr. Spinell [2] and his brethren."

[1] Westminster Archives, *Epistolæ Variorum*, vol. xiv., No. 64.
[2] Cardinal Spinelli.

The answer, which was dated 9th July, 1763,[1] was to the effect that the Cardinals of Propaganda felt that the matter required mature deliberation, and must be postponed until they could obtain further information. Meanwhile they desired him to draw up a report on the present state of the missions in the islands subject to his jurisdiction, and on the manner in which he thought their affairs might best be directed. At the same time the Cardinal Prefect also wrote to the Bishop of Quebec asking for his opinion.

In reply Bishop Challoner wrote a letter, which is important as embodying all the information he possessed on the subject.[2]

"MOST EMINENT FATHER:

"In compliance with the wish of the Sacred Congregation, I will set forth briefly, as well as the remoteness of those parts permits us to know, the conditions of our Missions in America. The British Colonies in America, which the Holy See has placed under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of London, are partly on the Continent and partly on the Islands. On the Continent they occupy the very extensive Provinces of Nova Scotia, New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina and Georgia. But in these most flourishing colonies, if you except Pennsylvania and Maryland, there is no exercise of the Catholic religion, and consequently no missionaries, the law and civil authorities prohibiting it. In Pennsylvania and Maryland the exercise of religion is free; and Jesuits, holding faculties from us, conduct the missions there in a very laudable manner. There are about twelve missionaries in Maryland, and as they say about sixteen thousand Catholics, including children; and in Pennsylvania, about six or seven thousand under five missionaries. Some of these missionaries also make excursions into the neighbouring Provinces, Jersey on the one side, Virginia on the other, and secretly administer the Sacraments to the Catholics living there.

[1] Letter, Cardinal Castelli to Bishop Challoner, July 9, 1763, Westminster Archives, Papers, 1761-65.

[2] This translation of the letter, made by Dr. John G. Shea, has been published in *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. xii., No. I., 1895.

"It is to be desired that provision should be made for so many thousand Catholics as are found in Maryland and Pennsylvania, that they may receive the Sacrament of Confirmation, of the benefit of which they are utterly deprived. Now that Canada and Florida are brought under the English sway, the Holy Apostolic See could easily effect this, a Bishop or a Vicar Apostolic being established at Quebec or elsewhere, with the consent of our Court, by delegating jurisdiction to him throughout all the other English colonies and islands in America. This would be far from displeasing to us, and would redound greatly to the advantage of those colonies.

"There are many in islands in America under the British sway, *viz:* Newfoundland, Bermuda, Bahama, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, etc.: but the number of those who profess the Catholic faith in these islands is very small. Its exercise is tolerated nowhere scarcely, except in Montserrat, where there are at this time three Irish missionaries, but holding faculties from us. In the other islands above named there are at this time no priests, but some of them are visited from time to time by the missionaries of Montserrat, but it is to be deplored that many of the Catholics on these islands seem to have very little regard for their religion, and when they can, show an unwillingness to maintain and support a missionary among them; and certainly to this day we have never been able to ascertain anything of the Peter Lembec who, in a Spanish letter to the Sacred Congregation, offered to carry a priest at his own expense to Jamaica and maintain him. There was also, for a time, an Irish missionary with faculties from us in the island of Newfoundland, on the Northern Ocean, but when the last war broke out he was expelled by the Protestants.

"The islands which, by the terms of the recent treaty the French have ceded to the English, are Granada, Grenadina, St. Vincent's, Dominica and Tobago, in which the exercise of the Catholic religion is served; but we are entirely ignorant of the present state of the Catholic religion in them, or what the ecclesiastical government is.

"To obey the commands of the Sacred Congregation, I

have briefly set these forth, and with all reverence I subscribe myself,

"Most Sacred Father,
"Your Eminence's most obedient servant,
"RICHARD (Bp.) of Debra, Vicar Apostolic.

"LONDON, *Aug.* 2, 1763."

This letter was sent to the Nuncio at Brussels, as appears from a letter written by Dr. Challoner to his agent on the 6th of September, 1763.[1]

"I duly received both yours of June 28 and August 2 for which you have here my thanks. As to the affair of the colonies I had some time ago a letter from Mr. Castell & Co.,[2] desiring me to give without loss of time the best account I could of the state of the mission, particularly with regard to the islands: which I answered by the next post by the way of Brussels. As to the state of religion in the islands 'tis at a very low ebb: there are but three missioners there (Lynch, Crump and Dalton) all at present in Montserrat; nor do we discover any great dispositions in the Catholic planters for encouraging more. In what state religion is in the new acquired islands we know not. And the situation of both the one and the other at this vast distance from us; and our inability, in our circumstances, of taking a proper care of them, makes us very willing to have them better provided for, by being put under another jurisdiction. And as to the missions upon the continent, to be sure a bishop or vicar apostolic in Canada or Florida would be most proper for them."

The long and careful statement, however, never reached Cardinal Castelli, and as Bishop Challoner surmised, never reached the Nuncio. In March, 1764, he heard that his report had not been received and, suspecting that it had been intercepted by the British Government, he wrote direct to Dr. Stonor.[3]

"I had a letter this last post from Mr. Castell, desiring an

[1] Westminster Archives, *Epistolæ Variorum*, vol. xiv., No. 67.

[2] Cardinal Castelli and the Congregation of Propaganda; the references to superiors at Rome being still disguised under mercantile aliases, even when the rest of the letter is explicit and open.

[3] Letter, March 15, 1764, Westminster Archives, *Epistolæ Variorum*, vol. xiv., No. 73.

account of the state of religion in our colonies and provinces in the new world, and complaining that I had not answered a letter of his on the same subject written in July, 1763. Now in fact I gave him, without loss of time, a very ample account of all that he desired to know, by a letter directed to Brusselles, which I perceive has miscarried, and as I strongly suspect was opened, and stopt on this side of the water. For which reason I don't think it advisable to make use of that channel any longer in writing on subjects which probably are disagreeable to men in power, and may involve us in greater difficulties than our friends are aware of. Besides the great charges these frequent packets put us to. You will be pleased then with my humble respects to acquaint Mr. Castell with these particulars; and withall to let him know:—that the only colonies upon the continent, in which there are any priests or any toleration for the Catholic religion are Mariland and Pensilvania; that in the former I am told we have 6000 souls, one half of them communicants; in the latter 6000 or 7000; the missioners behave well, they are of the padri and have faculties from hence. 2. That the state of religion in the islands is deplorable, though rather better than it has sometimes been; the number of those who profess their religion are chiefly a few straggling Irish scattered up and down to pick up their bread where they can; most of these at present are in the small island of Montserrat; and the whole multitude cannot amount to more, as far as I can learn, than two or three hundred. There are three or four priests of the same nation, all at present in Montserrat. 3. As to Granada, and the other islands newly acquired, I suppose they may have as yet their French priests, at least they don't correspond with us; and we know not what passes amongst them, nor whether we are to have anything to do with them. I only hear that one F. Devinish, an Irish Dominican, is gone to Granada, from the Danish island of S. Croix but without giving any notice to us. 4. I hear the affair of giving a bishop to Canada goes on but slowly; the person who has been pitched upon by the Canadians being opposed by the governor; if matters there were once properly settled, I wish our friends would think of charging the person to be chosen, or some other with the title of Vicar Apostolic, with the care of those other colonies which

we at this distance cannot properly assist, and which now are quite deprived of the Sacrament of Confirmation.

"I am

"Ever Yours

"RICHARD DEBOREN.

"*March* 15, 1764."

As time passed, and no answer was received as to the jurisdiction of the newly acquired territories, the bishop felt constrained to appeal once more for definite information.[1]

"I am applied to by the *Padri* to know from whence their missioners are to have faculties for the new acquired islands of Granados, Dominica, S. Vincent and Tobago. I wrote to you before on this subject: but I don't remember to have received any satisfactory answer. These islands are not in the case of Canada; where there had been so long a bishop and chapter with ordinary jurisdiction; and which is still peopled by the old inhabitants: but these islands lately ceded to Britain, are or will quickly be filled with British inhabitants, and will want British Pastors. The query therefore is, whether as they *now* become *British islands*, they *now* come under that jurisdiction which was given us before in *omnibus insulis Americæ Britannico imperio subjectis?* Mr. Abraham [the Pope] seems to suppose it, when in an audience given to Mr. Marefoschi with relation to a matrimonial dispensation in the island of Grenados he referred the case *Episcopo Deborensi habenti jurisdictionem in insulis Americæ Britannico imperio subjectis.* However, we should be glad to have a more explicit declaration in this particular; not out of any ambition of having our jurisdiction extended to places, which are so much out of our way; but that we may be safe in giving faculties when called for. The more because we are told (how truly I know not) that a French capuchin went over from hence not long ago to those islands, taking on himself the title of *Praefectus Apostolicus Missionum.* We beg, therefore, an *éclaircissement* with regard to these new acquired islands; and probably may want the same soon with regard to our acquisitions in Florida."

At length, quite at the end of the year, an answer was

[1] Letter to Dr. C. Stonor, Aug. 28, 1764, Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 77.

given, granting the necessary faculties for the newly acquired British dominions, and intimating that the appointment of a vicar apostolic at some future time was under consideration.[1] But the project of appointing a bishop or vicar apostolic for North America met with considerable opposition from the missionaries in Maryland and Pennsylvania; and ultimately they desired Bishop Challoner himself to forward their protests to Rome. In a letter dated 12th September, 1766, the bishop informed Dr. Stonor of this movement: —[2]

"I believe I never told you how much those gentlemen [the Jesuits] were alarmed upon hearing the first rumour of a Bishop being designed for North America: and what opposition and subscriptions they procured from the laity there, which they would have had me to have sent to Hilton but I desired to be excused. By which I plainly see it will be no easy matter to place a Bishop there, although there be so many thousands there that live and die without confirmation. The state of the islands is still worse, as they are very indifferently served with Missioners, and it is not possible for us at this vast distance to inspect or correct their faults: and withal the circumstances are such that it would scarce be possible to fix a Bishop there."

Ultimately it was arranged that with the exception of Canada, which remained under its own ordinary, the Bishop of Quebec, the Vicar Apostolic of the London District was to have jurisdiction over all territory ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris.

And so matters remained until the end of Bishop Challoner's life, greatly to his dissatisfaction, for he fully realised that, under the circumstances, he could not possibly carry on the administration properly. If it had not been for the islands, the case would have been otherwise, for the missions on the mainland were so well conducted by the Jesuits that they gave him little cause for anxiety. But the islands were in a condition that required personal knowledge which he could not acquire at so great a distance. Then, too, the Catholics in question

[1] Letter from Propaganda, 24 December, 1764, Propaganda Archives, *Lettere della S.C. dell' anno 1764*, vol. 204, fol. 599.

[2] Letter to Dr. Stonor, Sept. 12, 1766, Westminster Archives, *Epp. Var.*, xiv., 102.

were not a homogeneous body, but included both the Irish in the ancient possessions, and the French in the newly acquired territory. The question bristled with difficulties, but he gave it long and careful attention, and the solution which appeared to him most effective is expressed in a long letter which he wrote to his agent in 1771, when an application to Propaganda for a renewal of his faculties was necessary.[1]

"As my faculties for America expire at the end of March, I beg you to get them renewed in time. I am well aware that it is impossible for me to give due care and attention to missions so distant, and beset with so many difficulties; where priests as well as people stand in need of a visitation, the more pressing because the very missionaries mutually accuse one another of the gravest abuses. And a superior at so great a distance finds it impossible to detect the truth of the facts, because of the contrary reports which come to him, or to apply the usual measures of reform both to priests and people, who all—as there is reason to believe—greatly need it.

"For these reasons, I affirm—as I did six years ago—that I am extremely desirous of being relieved of the aforesaid charge—at least, over the islands, because so far as the Provinces on the Continent are concerned, matters are better regulated, and give me less anxiety. And so, it is my belief that it would be to the point for the Sacred Congregation to send some priest to those parts, having—as Vicar or Prefect—authority over the islands of the ancient British Dominion. And, as both priests and Catholic populace residing in those islands are of Irish nationality—at least, by origin,—that Superior would be more acceptable and welcome who should be of the same Irish nationality. But with respect to the islands ceded by France, in virtue of the last Treaty of Peace,—of the year 1763,—where people and priests are almost all French, the case is different, and it does not seem that an Irish superior would be suitable in those parts; but some superior is certainly necessary, not only on account of the distance, but also because there are there a greater number of Catholics and of missionaries. And to tell you the truth, I have some fear that I made a mis-

[1] The original of this letter is not extant. We here give a rendering into English of Dr. Stonor's Italian translation of the bishop's letter (Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 128-32).

take in the choice of the person whom I deputed as my Vicar in those French Islands. He is a certain Father Benjamin,[1] a French Capuchin, who, after having served the mission in the island of Martinique for ten years, when that island was restored to the French, was sent back to France, charged with having been too partial to the English, and then, by order of the Courts, committed to his convent, to remain there till further orders; with a prohibition from returning to the mission. But having escaped thence, he returned to America, and disembarked in the island of Granada, which, I think, his first faculties embraced. These—so he asserts—have never been withdrawn by his superiors, and he was there placed in possession of the Parish of St. George, which is the chief one of the whole island, and has always been served by the Capuchins. And from there, just at the time when I was anxious to learn the state of religion in those recently ceded islands, he wrote me a long and clear account, giving me minute information on all points; forwarding to me, then, an attestation in his favour from the Father Provincial of Normandy, of his own order, both with regard to the time previous to his mission, and for the ten years of his stay in Martinique, altho' the same did not venture to give him a permit to return to the mission, for fear of offending the Court of France. He had added other recommendations in his favour, and, at the end, insisted on the necessity of nominating some superior over those islands; all the more so, because their dependence on Martinique could no longer hold, and because, many parishes being without pastors, it was necessary that there should be some person authorised to give timely faculties to the missionaries, and to provide for the vacant churches. Things being in this state, I believed it to be my duty to send him the faculties to exercise in the parish which he occupied in the island of Granada, the same functions that he had been accustomed to in Martinique; and, at the same time, I gave him authority, as my vicar, to bestow the same faculties on capable persons for those parishes of the ceded islands where there were no missionaries, but without

[1] Father Benjamin Duhamel, O.S.F. There is a draft letter to him in Bishop Challoner's Letter-Book (Westminster Archives), fo. 88. In the same book are two letters to Father Fallon, O.S.F., on the state of the islands (fos. 109, 119).

making any change in those already provided. In these faculties I sent the clause 'de consensu eorum quorum interest,' and limited it to a term of six years, unless the Holy See otherwise disposed before. These six years end next August, and I am somewhat embarrassed as to what I ought to do with regard to the renewal of his faculties. At first he encountered some opposition from his parish priests, and also, of some other priests, but principally of the Superior of the Martinique Capuchins, who was aroused to this—as far as appears—because this Father was opposed to the sale which the French superior wished to conclude with a Protestant, of a property, belonging to the parish of S. George, and destined for the maintenance of the Pastor. This superior accused him of apostasy,[1] but it does not seem to me that he has been able to establish it; and on the other hand, if I had abandoned him, everything would have been in confusion, as I have learned from a minister to this court in the name of the island; and probably the Protestant government would have taken possession of all the parishes. And now the dispensations are finished, and his parish priests are content with him. And as all agree that his morals are stainless, I find nothing against him save the want of the expressed approval of his order, and this, I see, he finds difficult to obtain because of the opposition of the French government. All this detail ought to suffice, at least, to establish how necessary it is, on the one hand, to appoint a Superior suited to the government of those islands, and, on the other hand, how little capable I am for that task in the circumstances in which I find myself."

The reply of Propaganda was that the appointment of a vicar apostolic for the British possessions seemed to be a matter of much danger, as it was not clear what view the British government would take of such a step; and this view, the bishop was reminded, had been put forward by himself in 1764. For the rest, it was pointed out that Canada was satisfactorily provided for, and as he himself did not experience much difficulty in administering the colonies on the mainland, it was better for things to remain as they were. With regard to the French islands lately acquired, there seemed no reason

[1] The word is here used in the technical sense of a religious leaving his order, and does not import loss of faith.

why Father Benjamin, the Capuchin, should not, as vicar general to the bishop, be able to meet all the wants of the faithful. The only difficulty with regard to Father Benjamin, namely the charge that he had left his order, would be removed by a special confirmation, which the Pope was pleased to grant, of that father in the offices of missionary, parish priest and vicar general. So far as the other islands were concerned, the bishop was recommended to appoint one of the Irish Dominicans in Monserrato as his vicar general for them. Finally it was suggested that application should be made that both the French and Irish vicars general should receive power from the Holy See to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation.

"In this manner," the memorial concludes, "it appears to the Sacred Congregation that then everything would be sufficiently provided for, without the risk of the grave dangers which, according to the assertion of the Vicar Apostolic himself, the requested appointment of a vicar apostolic for all English America would cause. Above all things the Congregation desires that the Bishop of Debora would intimate to them his sentiments on this head, and that he would send them all the most minute information that he is in possession of, regarding the state of those affairs, as well as precise reports from the missionaries authorised by him for those parts, in order that they may with deliberation and more complete understanding make suitable arrangements."[1]

The bishop obeyed the wishes of the Congregation with customary readiness, and in a letter dated 4th June, 1771, explains in great detail his views on the subject.[2] In his agency papers Dr. Stonor made a short memorandum:—

"Bp. Chaloner, having received the above mentioned memorial concerning America, returned me an answer, of which the following extract was communicated by me to the Secretary of Propaganda. Aug. 9th, 1771."

"The memorial respecting matters of British America, which you have sent me by order of the Sacred Congregation,

[1] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 134-36.

[2] In the absence of the original we are again dependent on an English version of the Italian translation presented by Dr. Stonor to the Congregation (Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 157-60).

seemed to me truly worthy of their Eminences' great prudence; and I find that it banishes, with the greatest exactness, the doubts and scruples I suggested. I am only grieved to see that I am without hope of being freed from the charge and superintendence of those many colonies and islands so distant —which tax my resources very greatly. For all that, I will do the best I can to regulate my conduct in accordance with the instructions and suggestions contained in the same memorial; which are, to renew Father Benjamin's faculties as Vicar General for the islands newly acquired, and this for the term of six years 'unless the Sacred Congregation should otherwise provide in the meantime'. And truly he is the only missionary in those parts, of whom I can profess any particular knowledge. For these six years, I have kept up an exact letter correspondence with him; all conduces to shew that his morals are beyond reproach. Further he has shewn great zeal for the purity of the Faith, and the authority of the Holy See, which some seem disposed to repudiate by recognising the King as head of the church. Wherefore, if he should fail me, I should have difficulty in finding another person suitable for that charge. With respect to the suggestion in the Memorial, to confer upon the Father Vicar Benjamin, or some other missionary, the extraordinary faculty of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, I fancy I see some serious difficulties. The thing is without precedent in those parts, and there is reason to fear that any such novelty would cause some kind of scandal, both to the Catholics, and even to the very heretics: again, since the missionaries in those parts are now so disunited I should fear to confer upon any one of them any such extraordinary commission. Above all, I should be unwilling to entrust it to any of those missionaries who are now in the islands which were in the possession of Great Britain before the last war.

"The number of Catholics in those islands is small indeed, and there are now only three priests. These are: Father Nicholas Crump, a Dominican, in Monserrato, Father Patrick Dalton, of the same, likewise in Monserrato, and Father James Fallon, a Franciscan. The latter, a short while ago, was in the island of Antigua, but I think he is now desirous of being stationed in Dominica—one of the ceded islands—and of pur-

chasing there a plantation, a thing which greatly displeases the other missionaries, as also Father Benjamin, to whose jurisdiction that island pertains."

After some account of the differences between Father Fallon and the other priests, the bishop continues: "And so, withal, it appears to me that in these circumstances not one of these three religious would be suitable as Vicar General of those islands, nor do I at present know any other, to whom that duty could be entrusted. Indeed they tell me that the chief Catholic inhabitants, aroused by the instructions and exhortations contained in my recent pastoral letter, shew themselves desirous of receiving and maintaining a large number of missionaries. To find them, it is necessary to look to Ireland, and to take those who shall be recommended by their Superiors. It would be desirable that there should be found among them one who could be deputed as Vicar-General in those islands—I mean, those which belong to the old dominion of the British Government.

"As regards the Continent, there are Catholics in great numbers in the provinces of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, all under the charge of the Jesuit Fathers who receive their faculties from me. According to their reports, those missions are in a very florishing state. And it is a thing to be deplored that such a great multitude should have to live and die always without the Sacrament of Confirmation. Those Fathers display an unspeakable reluctance to receive within their midst a Bishop, under the pretext that there might be a persecution by the Secular Government, to the ruin of the mission. But it does not seem to me that this result is to be feared, if the Bishop of Quebec, who is not at so great a distance, should be invited and authorised to administer confirmation to that people. These are the reflexions which the said memorial have given me occasion to make. I beg you to translate them into Italian, and to communicate them, on my behalf, to Mgr. the Secretary of Propaganda, adding my most humble respects and sincere thanks for the great care he has deigned to take of our poor and afflicted mission."

So matters rested for the remainder of the bishop's life, and he struggled on as best he might, though the condition of the West Indian islands remained a source of some anxiety to

him. A secular priest, Christopher McEvoy, who had been appointed some years before as Prefect Apostolic of the Danish islands, occasionally visited some of the British islands and sent sad accounts of what he saw there. He reported that though there the magistrates were willing to allow toleration or at least connivance at the practice of the Catholic faith, the state of religion among the Catholics, whether whites or blacks, was deplorable, and that they would not support a priest. The consequence of this was that the Congregation of Propaganda determined to provide a priest for these islands at its own expense, and by a decree of March, 1776, gave Mr. McEvoy jurisdiction over the Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, and other islands adjoining, which were comprised in the jurisdiction of no other prefect. The effect of this decree, however, as Bishop Talbot pointed out long subsequently, was that two different and independent persons, namely, the Vicar Apostolic of London, and the Prefect Apostolic of the Danish islands, were vested with faculties over the same territory and the same persons.[1]

It does not appear whether Bishop Challoner was aware of this concurrent jurisdiction, but papers in the Westminster Archives show that he continued to concern himself with the affairs of these islands until the end of his life. In a list of missioners in the West Indies he notes that he had granted faculties for seven years to Christopher McEvoy on the 31st of March and 30th of April, 1770, and that as late as 1775 he had issued faculties to John Dunn "at the request of Mr. McEvoy". In this list, which seems to have been drawn up in 1777, he gives the names of fourteen priests, three of whom are stated to be dead.[2]

The last letter relating to the West Indies records the death of his vicar-general, Father Benjamin Duhamel, the Capuchin, and sets forth his own pressing difficulties.[3] The present state of those islands is, he says, deplorable. All the more so because divers French priests had thrust themselves into some of the parishes without Father Benjamin's approval.

[1] See on this point Father Hughes, *loc. cit.*, p. 90.

[2] The three who were dead were Dominic Lynch, Nicholas Crump and Luke O'Reilly. The others were Patrick Dalton, Thomas Davinish, Terence Macdonnel, William Carrington, James Fallon, J. Nesfield, Christopher McEvoy, Terence Kieran, Hugh Conway, James Dunn and James Fleming.

[3] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 261.

The difficulty was to find a suitable successor to the dead priest, and he confesses he did not know where to find such an one; for he must be a Frenchman and yet acceptable to the English authorities. He ends by begging his agent to report the matter to the Congregation of Propaganda, in order that some remedy might be found, and "that I may be delivered from a burden that is beyond my strength".

But if the West Indies were thus a constant source of trouble, the course of affairs in Pennsylvania and Maryland ran smoothly and was not disturbed, except when the suppression of the Society of Jesus raised the question again with regard to these colonies. The anonymous *Memorial on the English Jesuits*, which was presented to Mgr. Borgia, the Secretary of Propaganda, shortly after the Brief of Suppression had been issued, contained a paragraph with special reference to the Jesuits in America.[1]

"This discussion embraces equally the Missionaries settled in the American provinces and those who are in England. I will only say that this change will help in a short while to facilitate the execution of the project—elsewhere formulated—of sending to those parts an episcopal vicar apostolic: which had never taken place because of the opposition raised by the Jesuit missionaries and by the Catholic laity at their suggestion. The real reason of their reluctance lay in the fact that they did not wish to recognize any other authority than that of their Regular Superiors. Now that these no longer exist, it ought not to be of much importance to them who will have jurisdiction over them, whether it be a Vicar Apostolic sent by the Holy See or a priest deputed by the Vicar Apostolic of London. It is true that even before, they were subject to the jurisdiction of that Vicar Apostolic, but this authority of his was, as it were, purely nominal. As there were no other missionaries it was necessary to entrust his authority to one of them, and as he had no personal knowledge it was found necessary to transmit it to the man recommended by the Father Provincial."

Whatever Bishop Challoner's views may have been as to this opposition to the establishment of a vicariate, which he continued to regard as the true solution of the difficulty, his

[1] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 188-193.

practical relations with the Jesuits were friendly; and as in his own district he carried out an arrangement which minimised the painful consequence of the suppression as far as might possibly be, so he had no difficulty with the Fathers in Maryland or Pennsylvania. But events were already on foot which involved, among many other changes, a reorganisation of the Catholic Church in America, and heralded the birth of the great American hierarchy which now holds sway over vaster lands than England ever possessed there. It was in the very year of the Suppression of the Jesuits that the Boston men rose to fling the tea from the East India Company's ships into the waters of the harbour,—an act indicative at once of the strained relations of the past, the misunderstandings of the present and the fierce struggle of the future. There were but few men in England who, like Burke or Shelburne, had any knowledge of America, and the nation, as a whole, so far from understanding the position taken up by the colonists, resented their attitude, and goaded on the Ministry in the policy which alienated the American colonies beyond recall. The last efforts of Chatham and Burke to win the nation to wiser counsels failed in the spring of 1775, and the disastrous and shameful war began. On the 4th of July, 1776, Congress issued the momentous *Declaration of Independence of the United States of America* which proclaimed to the world "that these united colonies are and ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved".

Though only four of the thirteen States immediately abolished all religious disabilities, it may truly be said that with the Declaration of Independence the Catholic Church in America began to be free. And with freedom came growth, so that with the Declaration of Independence began that astonishing advance of Catholicity in the United States, which has been one of the wonders of the past century, and which has given a new people to the Catholic Church. Fourteen archbishops and eighty-nine bishops now bear sway over a Catholic population numbered by millions, in those same lands, where little more than a hundred years ago, Bishop Challoner, by means of letters written from far distant London, strove to

provide for the needs of the 25,000 souls who made up his flock.

It was little enough he could do, yet who shall say how much of the later harvest has been due to the seed of his prayer; and the Catholic Church in America, in her strength and her beauty to-day, may recall as one of her earlier graces that for more than twenty years Bishop Challoner was her sole pastor, and that thus she may point to his name on the roll of her former bishops and fathers in God.

It is indeed a strange and curious fact to remember, but it is none the less true, that, during the rest of Bishop Challoner's life, his jurisdiction over his American priests and people remained the only remnant of authority in the hands of an Englishman that was still recognised in America. King and Parliament and Ministry had lost their power, but this feeble old man, living his retired life in an obscure London street, still continued to issue his faculties and dispensations for the benefit of his Catholic children in Maryland and Pennsylvania. His wish in their regard had ever been that they might have a vicar apostolic of their own, but this was not to be during his own life-time; and it was some years after his death that John Carroll was consecrated first Bishop of Baltimore by Dr. Walmesley, the senior English vicar apostolic. But when in this way there was forged the link that will ever connect the hierarchies of England and the United States in close and valued relationship, the desire of Bishop Challoner's heart was fulfilled in a larger and fuller way than he had ever hoped.

CHAPTER XXX.

OLD AGE.

1770-1778.

JUST before Christmas, 1769, Dr. Challoner wrote a letter to his old friend, Bishop Hornyold, in which, contrary to his usual custom, he lifts the veil for a moment and speaks of himself. He was nearly eighty, and the end of his life could not be far distant. To such a man death meant no painful wrench from this world, and in itself he did not fear it; but his deep humility could see nothing in his long life of seventy-eight years but shortcomings and negligence, so that holy fear of the Divine judgment seems to overpower his wistful longing for the presence of God. The letter itself makes a beautiful prelude to the story of the last decade of his life.[1]

"HONᴰ DEAR SIR,

"This acknowledges the favour of yours of the 6th instant and brings you my thanks for your kind present, and for what I much more esteem, your cordial wishes and prayers for me, of which I very much stand in need, being now in my 79th year, and therefore having just reason to believe that the time is near in which I shall be called upon to give up an account of my stewardship. O dear brother, for our Lord's sake earnestly pray that in his great mercy he would forgive me my innumerable sins, and prepare me for that great appearance, in which I have reason to dread the account I must give not only for myself but for so many others, who through my fault or neglect, are walking on in the way of perdition. Oh! 'tis a melancholy thing to see the great decay of piety and religion amongst a great part of our Catholics, and God

[1] Westminster Archives, 1766-70.

grant this may not be imputed to me by reason of my sins and negligencies. Therefore I once more beg your prayers, and, in return for this your charity, shall beseech our Lord to grant you his choicest blessings both for time and eternity.

"In Him I remain,

"Ever yours,

"R. CHALLONER.

"My best wishes and prayers attend also on your good brother Talbot.

"*Dec.* 13, 1769."

Early in March he received a visit from the Rev. John Geddes, afterwards bishop, who was on his way from Scotland to Madrid, to reclaim from the Spanish Government the property of the Scottish colleges at Madrid and Seville, which since the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain had been seized by the Crown. Mr. Perry, the agent whom Bishop Challoner had sent out in 1767 to preserve the English colleges, did what little he could on behalf of Scottish interests, but the presence of a Scottish agent was indispensable. It was exceedingly difficult to find a suitable person, and nearly three years elapsed before an agent could be appointed, meanwhile Bishop Challoner used his influence with the Spanish ambassador in London to keep the matter open.[1]

Dr. Challoner had always taken a very keen interest in Scotland, and had lost no opportunity of being of service to the Scottish Catholics. As early as 1751, when the Catholics were exposed to one of the sudden outbreaks of persecution to which they were always liable, he had, through the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk, persuaded the Duke of Argyll to support the efforts which the Imperial, Bavarian and Sardinian ambassadors were making to induce the English Government to stop the persecution. After a time this intervention was successful, and Dr. Challoner waited on the ambassadors to thank them for their action.

It was probably in connection with this business that he

[1] For a full account of this, see *The Catholic Church in Scotland*, by Stothert, edited by the Rev. Dr. Gordon, Glasgow, 1869, pp. 63 *sqq.*

wrote to Bishops Macdonald and Smith a letter which is quoted in *The Catholic Church in Scotland*.[1]

"We are sorry our little endeavours to procure the peace and tranquillity of your poor afflicted Church, have not met with all the success we could have wished for. But God's Holy Will be done. Our interest here with men in power is very inconsiderable; we can only join our prayers with yours, to call upon Him, who has all hearts in His hands, to give peace in our days and to let the light of His Countenance shine upon His people. In this as in everything else that lies in our small power, without transgressing rule and order, we shall be ever glad to contribute our mite towards the assisting you and yours."

Another tie with Scotland was his intimate friendship with the well-known bishop, Dr. George Hay, who has taken a place in the Catholic history of that country remarkably similar to that which Dr. Challoner holds with regard to England. They had first met in 1750, when Hay, then a young man, who had only recently been received into the Church, came to London intending to go on a voyage in the Mediterranean in the capacity of ship's surgeon. Challoner was so struck with his character and abilities that he took a great interest in him, and, as a result of much intercourse, came to the conclusion that he had a vocation to the priesthood, though at the moment he had first to fulfil his engagement with his ship. During his absence Dr. Challoner was able to arrange with Bishop Smith at Edinburgh to keep a place for him at the Scots College in Rome. Here Hay studied until his ordination in 1758, and now, after eleven years' zealous missionary work in Scotland, he had been chosen coadjutor to Dr. Grant, and had been consecrated bishop on the 21st of May, 1769.

At this time the Scottish mission was in sore need of priests and students for the priesthood, as well as of the necessaries for divine worship. One of Bishop Hay's first duties was to remedy this; and he at once determined to seek the help of the English Catholics through Bishop Challoner. He therefore drew up a memorial, particularly representing the inade-

[1] Stothert, *op. cit.*, p. 33. The draft of this letter is in the bishop's Letter-Book in the Westminster Archives. It differs considerably in wording from the letter as printed.

quate supply of missionaries and the need of decent altar-furniture and necessary books of instruction and devotion. This he sent in the name of the Scottish bishops to Dr. Challoner, asking his advice as to whether a general appeal to the English Catholics could be made, or whether they should rather proceed by applying personally to those who were in a position to help.

Bishop Challoner in his reply pointed out that it was not a very suitable time to make such an appeal, as collections were being made in England for rebuilding the Benedictine College at Douay and making additions to the English College there. "As to particular contributions, I doubt not but some if properly applied to, might be willing to assist you. I shall make some trial among my friends but the chiefest is now out of town."[1]

That this promise of personal help was really meant is shown by the letter which he wrote to Dr. Hay on the 5th of July, 1769, announcing his success in obtaining a large contribution.[2]

"HONOURED DEAR SIR,

"Admire and adore the goodness of God. Since I wrote to you I was visited by a person of great honour and virtue, to whom I showed your memorial, upon the perusal of which they proposed to me the giving you, for the necessities of your Mission, the sum of £1,000, with an eye to your present relief, and the procuring the Prayers of your Missioners for the repose of the soul of their kinsman, deceased, for which they had destined the money. In the meantime you are desired to let us know what number of Prayers [*i.e.* Masses] you could procure among your people for this their intention, which they take much to heart. They do not expect any number proportionable to that sum, but that you can conveniently perform, Pro Roberto Jacobo Defuncto. Your answer to this with instructions as how to return the money, will oblige your devoted servant in Christ,

"R. C."[3]

[1] *Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 64. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[3] It seems not unlikely that the "person of great honour and virtue" was the young Lord Petre, whose father Robert James, eighth Baron Petre, had died in 1742.



Bishop Hay.

As Mr. John Geddes, now on the business of the Spanish Colleges, was one of the most intimate friends of Bishop Hay, he was sure of a warm welcome from Dr. Challoner; and that he received this appears from his letter to Bishop Grant. He writes that on the afternoon of his arrival in London, Friday the 2nd of March, 1770, he waited on the bishop who received him "in a very kind and fatherly manner," and showed great interest in his mission. He then sent Mr. Geddes on to Bishop Talbot, who arranged for a visit to the Spanish Ambassador on the following day. Mr. Geddes then returned to dine with Bishop Challoner and the priests who lived with him. In writing of this meeting he says, "[I was] charmed with the easy, agreeable, edifying behaviour of the great man of whom I had heard so much".[1]

On the next day he had a very successful interview with the Spanish Ambassador and obtained all he needed for his journey. Before his departure, however, he met Dr. Challoner again under circumstances which he thus described in the letter just quoted:—

"This afternoon I was invited to the conference the Clergy have every Monday. The two bishops were present and twelve or fourteen churchmen. Bishop Challoner made a pathetic, instructive discourse *on a Priest in Lent*, with regard to his duties towards God, his people, and himself, insisting principally on this last head. After he ended everyone proposed what difficulties he pleased."[2]

Later in the year the Scottish bishops again sought his aid. This was due to an attack which had been made on the Catholicity of the Western Isles, and which threatened the very existence of the faith in the Hebrides. The persecution began with the attempt of Macdonald of Boisdale, who had himself apostatised, to force his tenants in the Island of South Uist by the most revolting tyranny to abjure their religion. News of this was received in London by Bishop Challoner in July, when he received a joint letter from the Scottish bishops assembled at Preshome.[3]

"While, through your charity and friendship," they wrote,

[1] Letter to Bishop Grant, March 5, 1770, *Catholic Church in Scotland* (*cit. sup.*), p. 70.

[2] *Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 70. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

"Divine Providence has been thus pleased to bestow so great favours upon us, it has, at the same time, been pleased to send us just now a very sensible affliction, by a violent Persecution, which is already gone a considerable length against us, in the Western Isles. The fatherly concern you take in the welfare of religion among us naturally induces us to communicate to you all our afflictions, as well as joys; but we the more earnestly beg leave to give you a full account of this affair, both because we have a very great dependence on your advice, and also because we have the greatest confidence that our good God, through your means, will afford some remedy to so great and dangerous an evil. The giving you a minute detail of this affair would be too long for the bounds of a letter, and we have, therefore, drawn up an account of it, on a separate paper, which Mr. Hay will forward to you along with this."

This heroic constancy of the Catholics of South Uist, and the exertions in their behalf of the noble Macdonald of Glenaladale, form a chapter in their history of which Scottish Catholics may well be proud, but the story cannot here be told except so far as Bishop Challoner took action in the matter.

The remedy proposed by Glenaladale was emigration to St. John's Island, Lawrence River, in America; and this under his leadership took place on a large scale. But money was urgently needed, and here Dr. Challoner was able to enlist the sympathies of English Catholics. In the following year he received a memorial from Dr. Hay, which he caused to be printed at his own expense, under the title, *Memorial for the Suffering Catholicks, in a violent persecution for Religion at present carried on in one of the Western Isles of Scotland.*

This memorial he distributed everywhere, recommending the object very warmly, and obtaining leave from the ambassadors to make public collections in the embassy chapels. The result was the despatch of a considerable sum of money to Bishop Grant, who was deeply touched by the interest the English bishop had shown. In December, 1771, he wrote to Bishop Hay,[1] "I am charmed with Dr. Challoner's amiable

[1] *Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 82.

behaviour. I pray God reward him for all his charity. You'll readily write to him about the beginning of the New Year. I beg compliments to him in the most respectful, affectionate manner." Dr. Hay, also, in writing to Rome, begged the Scottish agent, Abate Grant, to procure a special letter thanking Bishop Challoner for his great zeal in the Uist affair.

Little else remains to be recorded for the year 1771. The documents which still exist in the Archives of Westminster and Southwark are mostly concerned with questions of faculties from Rome, and other technical matters not of general interest. At Ushaw there survives one letter of this date which contains a paragraph interesting as throwing light on the practice of the vicars apostolic with regard to pontifical rites. Dr. Challoner's old friend, William Walton, had in the previous year been consecrated coadjutor-bishop to Dr. Francis Petre, Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, and he seems to have written a letter inquiring as to Dr. Challoner's own practice on certain points. In his letter dated 3rd January, 1771, the latter replies :—

"As to the *orationes ad paramenta* &c. altho' the rubrick only mentions *cum celebrat in pontificalibus* I have always been in the practice of saying as many of them as relate to the vestments we daily use, according to the form prescribed for bishops. As to the kissing of the bishop's ring prescribed to the communicants, 'tis what in our circumstances, where we have often many poor ignorant people to whom to distribute the holy Communion, is liable to inconveniences, and instead of edifying, distracts the receivers; and therefore I have not required it."[1]

A little later (Nov., 1771) he writes on a more serious subject, for difficulties had arisen between Bishop Francis Petre and his coadjutor, which caused the latter to entertain serious thoughts of resigning his position. With a view to this he explained the position to Bishop Challoner, who wrote a letter of wise and saintly advice with the double purpose of dissuading him from his purpose and of consoling him under his trials.[2]

[1] Letter to Bishop Walton, Jan. 3, 1771, Ushaw Collections, vol. i.
[2] The original draft is in the Westminster Archives, Letter-Book, p. 121.

"HONOURED DEAR SIR,

"Yours came safe to hand by which I am convinced that you have not been treated in the manner you ought to have been, by those for whose service you parted with what you had here, and withdrew yourself from us, who stood in great need of your assistance. To this, however, we consented, preferring what we looked upon to be for the common good of the whole body and of the mission in general, to our own particular convenience and satisfaction; and therefore we used our interest for your promotion, and this, I hope, with the proper motive of conceiving it to be for the greater glory of God, and for the advancing the great work of the sanctification and salvation of a greater number of souls, and therefore most likely to be according to the will of God. This will of God, no doubt was also [your] motive in accepting of this promotion, and ought still to be attended to and consulted in every step we propose to take, and by this, I could wish, should be regulated your whole proceeding in the affair in hand. For though I mentioned with Mr. Stonor my apprehension that your prosecuting your demission would in the end turn out both to the prejudice of your own and Mr. Petre's character, and the detriment of the public, the will of God was to be understood as yet in all this the principal thing to be considered both by you and by us; the will of God, I say, which requires that we should not easily expose the episcopal character to obloquy or contempt, nor be indifferent about the public good of them who have been divinely committed to our charge. Whence note, that when we spoke of the detriment of the public, we did not mean merely those gentlemen, whom you may have just reason to complain of on this occasion, but the public or common good of the clergy and mission in general, which is certainly the cause of God, and of the salvation of souls, which we apprehend must suffer from the demission.

"It is very certain that our superiors at Hilton [Rome] will take great offence at this unprecedented step, the more as being taken after so short a time of trial, and as to the reasons you allege, when weighed by them, I fear they will not appear to them sufficient to justify such an extraordinary proceeding: but in whatever more favourable light these may appear to them in your regard, they cannot fail of grievously hurting the

character of Mr. Petre, who could nevermore hope for the grant of a coadjutor from Hilton, and very probably upon this occasion the Regulars might intrude themselves into the succession, which certainly would not be for the benefit of the Clergy nor of the mission in general, and consequently not for the greater glory of God, nor the welfare of so many thousand souls depending on the Bishop of that district.

"For this and other reasons, all terminating in the holy will of God, I heartily wish and earnestly beg that you would drop your intended demission, which Mr. Stonor will not present till further orders. Who knows what changes a little time may produce: in the meantime, if your circumstances will not allow you to do all you could wish, you will be answerable for no more than you can do. As for applying the yearly income of your patrimony that way (which in all appearance you never intended to hoard up), abstracting from obligation, may perhaps be as meritorious in the sight of God, in the present circumstances of that district, as spending it any other way: tho' this should not prejudice your right of suing for a decent maintenance in temporals from those you assist in spirituals.

"To conclude, as I am convinced that your call to the office was from God, and that your continuing in it is more agreeable to the will of God; waiving all other considerations, I earnestly recommend to you again and again to follow God, and to remain in the calling to which he has called you, and I make no doubt but that His divine majesty will make all matters easier to you than you now apprehend, and give a plentiful blessing to your labours in that northern part of the vineyard which His divine providence has allotted to you.

"In Him, I remain,

"Ever yours."

One other paper of some personal interest remains to be noticed. It relates to the priest John Baptist Maloney, who had been sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in 1767 for exercising his office of a priest. The Government had now, after four years, commuted his sentence of imprisonment for life to one of perpetual banishment; and, being about to leave England finally, he came to the bishop for testimonial letters. If in the past Dr. Challoner had found occasion to complain of

the conduct of some Irish priests, there were others who were doing manful service in London with edification to all, and of these, John Baptist Maloney, to whom belongs the distinction of being the latest of the confessors, was one, so that the bishop, who had a warm regard for him, gladly testified to his courage and zeal.

"To all to whom these letters shall come we bear witness and testify that the Reverend John Baptist Maloney for many years performed missionary work in our district in a strenuous and praiseworthy manner, and finally was captured by the enemies of the faith and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, solely for the cause of his priesthood and the exercise of its functions. Now, that after four years imprisonment, the penalty of life-long captivity has by the King's mercy been commuted for that of banishment, he goes an exile for Christ to Catholic lands. And as on many grounds he is most dear to us in Christ, we commend him earnestly in the Lord to all prelates of the Church and other supporters of the Catholic faith.

"Given at London, on the twenty-fifth day of June, 1771.

"✠ RICHARDUS DEBOREN *Vic. Ap.*" [1]

About this time the bishop issued a circular with reference to a charity connected with the school for poor girls at Hammersmith which had been founded in 1760. During the years that had since elapsed many of these girls had been trained and placed in domestic service, but experience showed that some provision must be made for those who, through no fault of their own, found themselves out of employment. The wages such girls received when in service were too low to enable them to make provision for this emergency, and thus the time which elapsed before they could find new engagements was one of special anxiety and even danger. It was now proposed to make provision at the school for such girls, not exceeding twenty in number. Candidates were to be between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one and of good character. Whilst at the home they were expected to contribute to their own support by suitable work until they could be provided with a fresh place. Dr. Challoner's appeal was headed: "Proposals

[1] The draft of the Latin original is in the Westminster Archives.

for opening a Subscription for an Asylum for Young Maids out of service; recommended by R. C."

The beginning of 1772 found the bishop still harassed with the persecution which had been raised by the informers in 1767, and had continued with but little intermission ever since. It was a constant source of anxiety and distress, but he knew how to find comfort in suffering. Writing to the superior of the nuns at Hammersmith on the 2nd of January, he says: "This brings you my blessing with my best wishes and prayers for you and yours, that the mercy, grace and peace of God may be with you all, for your true happiness during the short and evil days of your mortal pilgrimage, till you are brought home by Our dear Lord to our true country to the eternal enjoyment of Himself in the land of the living. In the meantime we must not expect to make any part of this journey without a cross upon our shoulders, and those will in effect be the most happy and the most wise, who know best how to bear their crosses in conformity to the will of God."[1]

He ends with a message to the nuns and a tender reference to the children for whom he had done so much: "My blessing and prayers attend also on the good ladies with you, and many thanks for their charity, not forgetting my dear little ones".

A work directly for the use of children had of late been occupying him. This was the revision of the Catechism, the rare *Abridgment of Christian Doctrine: Revised and enlarged by R. C.*, published at St. Omer in 1772.[2] All his biographers, except Barnard, mention the fact that he did bring out a revised catechism, but they pass it over as a matter of small moment, not recording even the date. Yet this edition revised by Challoner is important in the history of our "Penny Catechism," because it is the link between the little book so well known to us and the Doway Catechism, which was the staple form of religious instruction from the middle of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century.

The history of the Penny Catechism has been till lately very obscure, and but little has been written about it.[3] That

[1] Letter to Mrs. Gentil, Jan. 2, 1772, Westminster Archives.

[2] The only copy of this edition I have ever met with is in the Oscott Library.

[3] See "The History of the Penny Catechism," by William G. Twiney, in *The Oscotian* for Easter, 1902 (3rd series, vol. ii., no. 2), where the writer has collected much valuable information, though his conclusions would have been strengthened

it has developed into its present form by gradual changes from Challoner's *Abridgment of Christian Doctrine* is certain, but the Abridgment itself, as the title states, was not an original work. The matter is the more difficult to investigate because of the extreme rarity of these little books. Just as the common Horn-books, which a hundred years ago could be bought by any village-child for a few pence, are now so scarce as to be the object of keen competition among wealthy collectors, so the little cheap Catechisms, so familiar to every Catholic child, were not worth the keeping, and now are hardly to be met with. Yet bringing two of these treasures together,—the Oscott copy of Challoner's *Abridgment* (1772) and the Old Hall copy of the *Doway Abstract* (1697)—it is clear on comparison that in the latter we have the original source of Challoner's work. The groundwork and arrangement are the same, though most of the questions and answers have been rewritten. But the *Doway Abstract* itself is only a summary of an older and larger work, the *Abridgment of Christian Doctrine; with proofs of Scripture for Points Controverted. Catechistically explained by way of Question and Answer.*

This book, which was commonly known as the *Doway Catechism*, was written by Henry Turberville, a Douay priest, who acted as chaplain to the Marquess of Worcester and Sir George Blount in the Civil War. The Catechism was published at Douay in 1649 and passed through very many editions in the seventeenth century alone. This is the work which, through the *Doway Abstract* and Challoner's *Abridgment*, is the ancestor of our English *Catechism of Christian Doctrine*.[1]

It was this book which formed the groundwork of religious instruction at Douay, together with the Abstract which had been made for the use of the younger boys. This had apparently first been published in London in 1688; another

if he had realised that the Doway Abstract was only an Abridgment of Turberville's Catechism, and hence was in fact, as he indeed surmised, the link between Challoner and Turberville.

[1] Though the work has been almost entirely re-written in the course of the various recensions it has passed through, there still remain several passages of Turberville's original work. Such familiar phrases as "can neither deceive nor be deceived" (Q. 10), "by which we love God above all things and our neighbours as ourselves" (Q. 169), and "all false testimony, rash judgments and lies" (Q. 220), with many others, to say nothing of the substance of many questions and answers, have come down to us unchanged.

edition being issued at Douay in 1697 by M. Mairesse "at the Salamander in the School Street".[1] The *Abstract* follows the *Catechism* faithfully in arrangement though with large omissions. The only addition is a chapter called "A Short Daily Exercise," which is the direct ancestor of our present chapter ix., "The Christian's Daily Exercise".[2]

Challoner's changes were not structural. He retained the fundamental division of the main subject-matter under the heads of Faith, Hope and Charity; an arrangement originally due to Blessed Peter Canisius, who adopted it in his *Summa Doctrinae Christianae*, the prototype of all Catechisms, which was published in 1554. In the arrangement of certain questions, as, for instance, those on the Blessed Trinity and the Sign of the Cross, Challoner reverts to the order of Bl. Peter Canisius which had been changed by Turberville. He retained the chapter on the Daily Exercise which was found in the *Abstract*, and added a completely new chapter called the Christian's *Rule of Life*. It is of this addition that Milner writes: "A certain layman of title condemned Bishop Challoner's most excellent 'Rule of Christian Life' at the end of his Catechism, and actually suppressed it in a new edition of it which he gave for that purpose".[3]

From the fact that this edition was published at St. Omer's it may be conjectured that Alban Butler was concerned in it in some way, possibly with the view to using it at the English College there, of which he was then president.

The share of Bishop Challoner in the Catechism as it exists to-day remains a large one; as the editors of subsequent revisions—the chief of which were approved respectively by the vicars apostolic in 1836, and by the third Provincial Synod of Westminster in 1859—took his edition as the groundwork for their alterations. Thus the little book, so widely used in our schools, has an illustrious parentage, being indebted in turn to

[1] It is interesting to find that the back of the title-page is devoted to the alphabet, in four types, to each of which the Cross is prefixed according to ancient Catholic custom. It was the practice of the children to begin their alphabet by naming the cross: "Christ's Cross, great A," and so on. This gave rise to the word "criss-cross" as applied to any simple cruciform decoration.

[2] At the Standon School in 1753 the *Doway Catechism* was used by the older boys, Fleury's *Historical Catechism* by those less advanced, and the *Abstract* by the youngest (Mgr. Ward's *History of St. Edmund's College*, p. 300).

[3] *Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics*, p. 45.

Blessed Peter Canisius, the English College at Douay, Bishop Challoner and the first bishops of our restored Hierarchy.[1]

Early in the year 1773 Dr. Challoner had the consolation of a visit from his friend Bishop Hay, whom he had not seen since that prelate left London as a young layman more than twenty years before. He arrived in London on the 28th of January, between eleven and twelve at night, "glad to pass through Finchley Common safely at so late an hour, without being visited by any of the collectors".[2] Next afternoon the interview between the two bishops took place. It was probably on this occasion that they entered into the compact that, after the death of either, the survivor of the two should celebrate Mass three times a week for the repose of his friend's soul as long as he was able to do so.[3] It is recorded in Bishop Hay's biography that he continued faithful to his agreement for nearly a quarter of a century after Dr. Challoner's death, that is, until he became unable to offer the Holy Sacrifice at all.

The year 1773 is memorable for the suppression of the Society of Jesus by Pope Clement XIV. in his brief of the 21st of July, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*. News of this reached London in August, and the bishop was thus called on to deal with a painful and difficult position. In the whole of England there were at this time about 120 Jesuits who were engaged on the mission,[4] and a large number of these were in his own vicariate. Arrangements had to be made with regard to the future position of these fathers and their missions, and there was in addition the awkward problem of the future of the venerable English College at Rome, which till this time had been managed by them. Early in September the bishop learned from the Roman agent that the English fathers at the English College would not be allowed to remain there, and that the Cardinal Protector was forming other plans for carrying on

[1] Among those who formed the Committee of Revision in 1859 were Bishop Ullathorne, Bishop Goss, Father Faber, Doctor Manning (the future Cardinal Archbishop), Canon Maguire and Provost Husenbeth.

[2] Dr. Hay to Rev. Charles Cruickshanks, *Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 97.

[3] Memoirs of Bishop Hay, prefixed to Bishop Strain's edition of his works, Edinburgh, 1871.

[4] Bishop Challoner's Memorial as to the College at Liège, *circa* Nov., 1773, Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 207. Brother Foley, *Records Eng. Prov. S.J.*, xii., 214, gives the total number of those in the English Province as 274, of whom 139 were actually in England.

the work of the college. He himself was desired to consult the other vicars apostolic on the subject, and in pursuance of this wrote as follows to Bishop Walton.[1]

"*Sept.* 4, 1773.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am desired by Mr. Stonor to concert with my confrères, what we think would be most advantageous for the publick service with regard to our house at Hilton, [Rome] in case of the removal of the Padri, which seems now resolved upon. And in a letter I have just now received, dated Aug. 10, he sends me the Cardinal Protector's present thoughts upon that subject, which I shall give you in the words of the letter. 'That you may be better able to give your opinion upon the subject, I will here acquaint you with what his Eminence has told me of his views and intentions. His design is to put the house under the care of secular priests: and intends that the first superiors and masters should be Italians, persons he is thoroughly acquainted with and sure of. But as it is necessary there should be also some Englishman to keep up the practice of the English tongue, and to oversee the exercises in the English, he would be glad you would look about for a proper person to recommend to him.' (Here Mr. Stonor asks what we should think of Mr. Wilkinson for that poste? But he is now nominated President at S. Omer; and therefore some other must be thought of. Here follows the Cardinal's further intentions.) 'His design is the young men should go no more to the publick schools in town, but have their schools and masters at home: and he hopes in time to raise masters and superiors out of the members of the house, as is practised at Doway: He is desirous the young men that are sent here for the future, should be fit at least to commence their Rhetorick. —He is no stranger to the difficulties that might attend the bringing up youths so far in their studies in England: but is ready to obviate them effectually: as he hopes to be able to allow enough to maintain at S. Omers, till Rhetorick, a number of such youths as you and your confrères may think proper subjects to be sent hither, and like to answer the end of this foundation. He added in fine that he hoped that such of the

[1] Ushaw Collections, vol. ii.

young gentlemen as were educated on the *funds* at St. Omers, and had a mind to embrace the Ecclesiastical state, would be encouraged by those that were charged with their direction, to remove in due time either hither or to Valladolid. This seems the more reasonable to be expected, as it would answer directly the avowed end of the first foundation of S. Omers.' So far Mr. Stonor's letter: which I have communicated also to Mr. Petre and to Mr. Hornyold desiring their thoughts, and yours with all convenient speed, that I may return an answer, the sooner the better.

"I remain,
"Dear Sir,
"Ever Yours,
"R. C."

The larger question as to the treatment of the ex-Jesuits and the application of their property was one of vital importance to English Catholics, and called for the wisest handling. Fortunately, at this difficult crisis, every one concerned behaved with the greatest restraint and self-control. The fathers of the Society submitted to the Pope's decree with an obedience that is ever praiseworthy, especially when it is remembered what a sacrifice on their part was involved. Unable to foresee the restoration of the Society forty years later, they were face to face with the complete ruin of the institution, to which they had devoted their lives.

Bishop Challoner was most anxious to treat the fathers with all possible sympathy and consideration, both for their own sakes and for that of the English Mission. This in itself was both easy and congenial; but, almost immediately, the unpleasant duty was laid upon him of ascertaining the exact possessions of the English Province, with a view to making arrangements for their application to the general good of the mission. On the 17th of September he wrote to Christopher Stonor at Rome to say that he had not yet seen the Brief of Suppression, and was at a loss how to act in the matter of the faculties granted to the ex-Jesuits; but that he proposed to continue them till the end of the year. As to the property, he says that they are not too ready to give information, and adds that Mr. Talbot, their late procurator, had given him a

very sad account of their property. Their losses had been great; the college at Liège and the profession-house at Ghent were both in difficulties, and the college at Bruges could not be carried on at all. With regard to the future disposition of the property, whatever it might prove to be, he urged on Dr. Stonor that it should be applied exactly in the same way and for the same missions as it had hitherto been; and in particular that the college at Liège should be continued as a seminary for the training of English missionary-priests.[1]

A week later,—the brief and encyclical letter having in the meantime been received—he wrote again. The result of a conference with Father Henry More, their provincial, showed that the property, notwithstanding their misfortunes, was still very considerable, but he refrained from specifying it in case his letter should fall into wrong hands, because by English law such property was liable to confiscation. He further pointed out that against the amount available, must be set their debts and many obligations, such as the provision secured to those who had given up all their private property to the Society, and that which was necessary for the support of the aged and infirm members. Bishop Challoner was naturally anxious that all these obligations should be scrupulously fulfilled, and Father More undertook, on his part, that, as soon as these claims had been properly met, he would devote the balance unreservedly to the service of the English Mission.[2]

Another point arose from the instructions of Propaganda that a copy of the Brief of Suppression should be sent to each Jesuit for his acceptance. The bishop pointed out that, in the circumstances of the times, this multiplication of copies of the brief would not only be laborious and costly, but positively dangerous, as the publication of papal decrees was unlawful, and that it would moreover only serve to distress the fathers and their supporters. If anything like keen resentment were aroused, he believed that a new persecution might easily be

[1] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 197-98.

[2] Bishop Hornyold, who also deeply sympathised with the fathers in their misfortune, took the same line. On the 25th of October, 1773, he wrote to Father Gage of Bury St. Edmund's: "As to the temporalities which belonged to your late body I have nothing to say to them; but am desirous that those who have care or administration of them will go on in the same manner as they were used to do" (Foley, *Records Eng. Prov. S.J.*, xii., 540).

stirred up. He then stated his intention of verbally communicating the chief articles of the brief to each Jesuit, on the earliest opportunity, at the same time requesting each one to sign an acknowledgment that the Society had been suppressed and abolished, and that they submitted themselves as secular priests to the obedience of the bishops. But this solution naturally could not apply to the ex-Jesuits in America, and he asked for instructions in their regard. Finally he reiterated his conviction that if the houses at Liège and Bruges were not saved as seminaries, it would become impossible to supply England and America with the number of missionary priests requisite to supply the place of the Jesuits in the future.[1] The actual terms in which the Jesuits in London acknowledged the suppression have been preserved in a letter written by Dr. Challoner to Bishop Hornyold, the 1st of October, 1773.[2]

"*Oct.* 1, 1773.

"HONᴰ DEAR SIR,

"With regard to the affair you speak of, we did not think it safe in the circumstances of this Kingdom, to send copies of the B[rief] to all concerned, but as a great part of them were in our neighbourhood, we invited all their Superiors and many others to our lodgings and there notified to them the contents of the Brief, which they were no strangers to; and proposed to them for their subscription the following paper to which they all subscribed.

"'Infrascripti Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Societatis Jesu dudum nuncupatae Presbyteri in districtu N. Missionarii, facta nobis ab Illmo N. in hoc districtu Vicario Apostolico declaratione et publicatione Brevis Apostolici ex SS. D. nto Clemente P.P. XIV. editi die 21 Julii 1773, quo praedictam Congregationem et societatem penitus supprimit et extinguit toto orbe terrarum, jubetque illius instituti presbyteros tamquam Sacerdotes sæculares Episcoporum regimini et auctoritati omnino subjectos esse, Nos,

[1] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 198-200. On the point of the conversion of the College at Liège, he, later on in the year, presented a memorial to the Pope, begging that it might be preserved as an English Seminary. See *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 207.

[2] Westminster Archives, 1771-1775.

supradicto Brevi plene et sincere obtemperantes, et omnimodo dictae Societatis suppressioni humiliter acquiescentes, supramemorati Episcopi Vicarii Apostolici tamquam Presbyteri sæculares jurisdictioni et regimini nos omnino subjicimus.'

"This has been subscribed by the Provincial and 12 others, and this same form of Declaration we shall send through our district to be subscribed by all the rest, so as to be able to send to Hilton [Rome] the subscriptions of them all, as is expected of us, with a letter by which we shall give an account of what we have done and attest by our sign and seal that their subscriptions were made in our presence or by those appointed by us. Upon their subscriptions we give to each of them the printed faculties *ad annum*: though I don't suppose the faculties they had before expire in the interim.

"I am, Hon^{d} Dear Sir,

"Ever yours,

"R. C.

"My respects to Mr. Talbot."

Shortly after he wrote another letter to Bishop Walton answering his difficulties and giving him further information.[1]

"DEAR SIR,

"To your queries, I dont think it necessarie that the Brief be read to or by every particular, and no way practicable or even safe, our laws and all circumstances considered, that it should be transcribed, and a copy authenticated by our sign and seal sent to each one, as is suggested by the letter of the Congregation: and therefore I chose the manner of publishing it which you see; which particularly insists on the points which the Congregation insists upon.

"2. I see no necessity of publishing the 2nd Breve, as it only relates to the erection of a new Congregation of Cardinals &c.

"3. I understand by the letter from the Propaganda (which I have not now at hand) that we were to send to Hilton, [Rome] an account of our whole proceedings in this affair and the subscriptions of them all, authenticated by us, and accordingly I have already begun, by sending up the subscription of

[1] Ushaw Coll. MSS., vol. ii.

the first 18, who subscribed in my presence, with the formula to which they subscribe and my testimony to authenticate it by sign and seal.

"4. The limiting *ad annum* was not necessary, but only *ad cautelam* as we are now beginning, as it were, upon a new footing.

"5. Our touching upon their temporals, which are liable, as Mr. More assures me, to great debts and obligations both to their own people and to others, would give great offence to many. But he promises me that whatever remains after these obligations are discharged shall remain to the mission. For the securing of this, and the management of our affairs in North America, I have made him my vicar over his quondam brethren in my district; as I take him to be a very worthy man; and believe this will be the best means to cement us together.

"I have received a letter from Mr. Stonor, who has presented a memoire to Mr. Abraham [the Pope] and hopes to obtain English Superiors and masters at Hilton, and desires we should have such in readiness. A superior, a master of Divinity and of Philosophy, and perhaps one of rhetorick, or a procurator, would be enough in the beginning. The importance of the matter requires that we should heartily concur in furnishing such, though with some inconvenience to ourselves. We are told here that Mr. Storey, who came away from Paris, and is now with you, would be proper to be one of the masters.

"I remain,

"Ever yours,

"R. C.

"*Oct.* 21, 1773.

"To Mr. Walton, Trinity Lane, York."

The wise and prudent counsels of the vicars apostolic, carried out with paternal sympathy for those who thus unexpectedly became their immediate subjects, made it the easier for the English Jesuits to maintain their dignified and edifying attitude of absolute submission; and there were but few signs of disaffection manifested by any of the English Province. Those who were serving the various missions continued quietly to carry on their labours in dependence on the bishop instead of

on the provincial; and no upheaval or general disturbance resulted through the chaplaincies of the country.

The real difficulty that remained to be faced was one which threatened the future rather than the present. What was to happen to the missions as the ex-Jesuits died, and there were no fresh comers to take their places? The resources of the secular clergy were wholly inadequate to provide for the training of nearly 150 extra priests. Yet this task now devolved upon the vicars apostolic. The obvious solution was that which Bishop Challoner had suggested from the first; namely, to take over bodily the houses in which the Jesuits had hitherto trained their subjects, and to carry them on either under secular priests or even under the ex-Jesuits who had up to that time administered them.

This course is urged in the moderate and broad-minded *Memorial on the English Jesuits* which was presented to Mgr. Borgia, secretary of Propaganda, shortly after the brief of suppression. It follows so exactly the expressed views of Bishops Challoner and Hornyold, that it probably represented their views officially, and was in all likelihood a summary prepared by Dr. Stonor from their instructions to him.[1]

With regard to the future supply of priests the memorial points out that as the college of Liège furnished sufficient subjects to supply continually the places of Jesuits who died, it might equally well do the same in the hands of secular priests. A suggestion is, indeed, thrown out, that if the multiplication of secular colleges be deemed undesirable, the property of Liège might serve as an endowment for the enlargement of Douay. But it is indicated that this proposition would not be welcome to the supporters of the Jesuits in England.

It is further suggested that the college at Bruges should be allowed to continue under the care of its former Jesuit superiors, now secularised, and that, just as formerly many of their students went from Bruges to Liège to enter the Society, so now they might do the same in order to become secular priests.

In the event, something not unlike this scheme was carried out; for though the College at Bruges was wrecked by the violence of the Austrian Government, the students went from there

[1] Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, pp. 188-93.

to Liège, where they carried on the traditions of their house, under ex-Jesuit superiors, till the time came for them to be driven out once more, to return to England and to found the great college of Stonyhurst.

The memorial, it is true, carefully points out that any such plan might involve the formation of two bodies among English priests, those representing the old secular clergy and those who had been trained by priests formerly Jesuits, and who themselves were "Jesuits by inclination". But it concludes that this danger might be obviated by prudence and tact, and at the utmost would be no worse than the differences which had formerly existed between the Jesuits and the secular clergy.

Finally comes the suggestion of a project more acceptable to the suppressed Jesuits and their supporters, to the effect that the ex-Jesuits should form themselves into a congregation of secular priests bound together by secular vows, or even without vows, and that they should live under the immediate charge of superiors elected by themselves with the canonical dispensation of the vicars apostolic. Such a congregation might further be entrusted with the administration of the property which had belonged to the Society at the time of the suppression.

That this solution did actually commend itself to Dr. Challoner, whether he had any share in the memorial or not, is shown by the fact that he appointed the ex-provincial of the Jesuits, his vicar general for all ex-Jesuits in the London District, a kindly act of thoughtfulness which made their path to secularisation as smooth as might be.[1]

In the end all worked out well. The working of the mission went on smoothly and without dislocation. None of the threatened evils came to pass, and when the Society of Jesus was restored by Pope Pius VII. in 1814, the way was open in England for the new birth of the English Province.

It so happened that just at the time Bishop Challoner had thus been anxiously considering how his district would be affected by the Suppression, he was already engaged in preparing a report to Propaganda as to the general state of his vicariate.[2]

[1] Letter to Bishop Walton, Oct. 21, 1773, p. 168, *supra*.

[2] Draft in Westminster Archives dated 10th Sept., 1773. A summary of the figures is given by Brady, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy*, p. 169.

This report is specially valuable, because it enables us to estimate the changes in the Catholic body that had taken place during his long episcopate. For just as the Report to Propaganda of July, 1746, embodies the results of the visitation he had made when he was first consecrated bishop, this report of 1773 describes the condition of affairs in his last years.

We may say at once that the general figures are much the same, tending on the whole to show a slight decrease. There is no growth or development to chronicle, and the detailed account of the various counties is not an inspiriting record.

Having referred to the Embassy chapels, the bishop proceeds to state that there are eight private chapels of fair size within the limits of the town, served by chaplains, and that about thirty other priests exercise their ministry in the mansions of the nobility or in private houses. Altogether the number of missionary priests in all London exceeds seventy.

As to the number of the laity nothing certain can be stated because they live scattered about the great capital, but it is believed that they do not exceed 20,000.[2] In other towns the state of religion is even more sad, and the number of Catholics is very small indeed.

In Kent there are a few in Canterbury, while about 100 of the faithful assemble in a house in the neighbourhood.[3] But in all the rest of Kent scarcely 200 Catholics will be found, and only four or five priests are labouring there. In Sussex the faith has suffered greatly by the falling away of the

[1] It may be convenient to set the figures out in parallel columns.

	1746.	1773.
Number of Catholics	25,000	24,450
Total Number of Missioners	—	120
Secular Priests	60	55
Jesuits	—*	25
Franciscans	20	20
Benedictines	8	11
Dominicans	11	4
Carmelites	11	2
Augustinians	2	1
Capuchins	2	1
Canons Regular of St. Augustine	—	1

[2] The total population of London in 1770 was about 700,000.

[3] Hales Place.

* The 1746 report gives the number of Jesuits in England as 120 but does not give the figures for the London Vicariate.

noble families of Gage and Shelley, and by the recent defection of Viscount Montague. So that in all the county there are but 600 or 700 together with six priests. In Hampshire there is a chapel at Winchester, and 200 or more Catholics; and another chapel in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth with a congregation of 250. Eight other congregations in those parts bring up the total to 1,200 Catholics and there are ten or eleven priests.

In Berkshire 500 or 600 Catholics under seven priests are divided into six or seven congregations. In Surrey there are barely 200 under four missionaries. The county of Essex contains about 650 with six priests. In Hertfordshire there is only one missionary and 100 Catholics. In Buckinghamshire and the neighbouring county of Bedford there are two or three congregations under three priests, numbering about 300 souls. Lastly, in Middlesex, exclusive of London, there are eight priests and about 300 Catholics.

After summarising the figures as to the clergy, the bishop reports that the clergy as a body are zealous and praiseworthy men, and that the London priests, particularly, labour strenuously and gain much fruit, especially in the conversion of many. Outside London, however, conversions are rare, and this is to be attributed to the neglect of the missionaries and the opposition of magistrates and parsons, who have often raised persecution against those priests who have made conversions in their districts.[1]

Speaking of the laity, he reminds the Pope that for 200 years and more they have sustained grievous persecution, and are most loyal to the Faith and the Sovereign Pontiff, detesting heresy, and that for the most part they lead good and devout lives, generally surpassing those Catholics who come from abroad and who often prove a scandal to their English brethren. He adds that this is true of not a few who come from Ireland to London, and give grave scandal there.

The report concluded with a brief account of the American colonies and islands which has been already described.

[1] "Sed extra Londinum rarae sunt conversiones, quod tamen tam missionariorum negligentia quam magistratuum et ministrorum oppositioni et saevitiae censemus tribuendum, qui plerumque graves excitant persecutiones tam in sacerdotes qui aliquos ecclesiae reconciliant quam in ipsos proselytos."

Besides the framing of this report and the trouble caused by the Suppression of the Society, nothing unusual came to disturb his tranquillity during the rest of the year, but there is one letter addressed to Bishop Walton under date 31st July, 1773, which deserves some brief notice, as it contains two or three hints as to the practice of the time with regard to certain points of ritual. These minor details, unimportant in themselves, are always worth recording as they may become of value when they are fitted in with other similar indications, with the result that conclusions of some liturgical value are occasionally to be drawn. One such practice alluded to in this letter was the custom by which the priest of the mission acted as sponsor at confirmation, a usage which Dr. Walton thought contrary to the views of Collet, the standard theologian of the day. But Dr. Challoner held by local custom, and replied:[1] "I believe Collet is right as to the practice, at least of France: however I should choose to continue our custom of having the *confirmandi* presented by their pastor; tho' as to this particular and to their laying their hands upon them the Pontifical is silent".[2]

A second point is still more strange. "As to the practice of saying all in English in giving the Benediction, It is what I should not approve, particularly with regard to the *O Salutaris* and the *Tantum Ergo:* because the discipline of the Church does not allow that any of the public service of the Church, whether *de præcepto* or not, should be performed by the Ministers of the Church otherwise than in the language of the Church. As to your not opposing it, it might perhaps be more prudent to say nothing of it till you know the sentiments of Amoriensis."[3]

This idea of having Benediction in English is interesting when considered in its reference to the history of that beautiful service, but it would seem to have been most exceptional, for though Benediction is occasionally mentioned in books and papers of this period, there is nothing to show that it differed at all from our present familiar rite. The directions which

[1] Letter, Bp. Challoner to Bp. Walton, July 31, 1773, Ushaw Collections, vol. i.

[2] Traces of this custom may be found in old Registers. See, for instance, the Winchester Registers, vol. i., Catholic Record Society's Publications.

[3] Bishop Francis Petre, V.A. Northern District.

Bishop Challoner gives for it in the earliest editions of the *Garden of the Soul*, might, except for the quaintness of their diction, be taken for a description of the ceremony as now performed.

In the year 1774 the bishop obtained a privilege from Rome on which he had long set his heart. This was the restoration to our calendar of the feasts of the English Saints. During the previous year he had secured the co-operation of the other vicars apostolic and had sent a petition to Rome. The devotion to these Saints, which had moved him to compile his two works in their honour, *Britannia Sancta* and the *Memorial of Ancient British Piety*, had led him for many years, as we have seen, to labour for the restoration of the liturgical observance of their festivals, which had ceased during the persecution.

It was Pope Benedict XIV. who took the first step in the direction of adding an English Supplement to the Roman Missal; not indeed by restoring any festivals but by raising to higher liturgical rank two feasts which were already observed by the whole Church. By a decree dated 1749, he raised the feast of the Translation of St. Edward (Oct. 13), to a double of the second class with an octave, and that of St. Ursula and her companions (Oct. 22), to the rank of a greater double.

The first festivals to be actually restored were those of St. Augustine, the Apostle of England (May 26), and Venerable Bede (Oct. 29), which Benedict XIV., at the instance of the Cardinal Duke of York, appointed to be observed in England by a decree dated 2 January, 1754. But even after this concession the secular clergy were worse off than the Regulars who had been privileged to keep the festivals of many other of the ancient English Saints. Thus the Benedictines observed St. David, St. Boniface, St. Paulinus and many others; the Cistercians, St. Stephen Harding, St. Robert and St. Edmund of Canterbury; while the Canons of St. John Lateran celebrated St. Gilbert of Sempringham and St. Thomas of Hereford.

It was therefore with good reason that Bishop Challoner earnestly desired to obtain from the Pope the restoration of the festivals of the more renowned English Saints, so that their offices might once more be celebrated in their native land,

and the sacrifice of the Mass offered to God in their honour. The other vicars apostolic supported him in this design, and left the details entirely to him to arrange. He accordingly made a careful choice of Saints from the ancient Calendars, and early in 1773 drew up a petition to be presented to the Pope in the name of all four vicars apostolic and their coadjutors. In sending this petition to Bishop Walton he wrote the following letter:— [1]

"Hond Dear Sir,

"I here send you a copy of a petition, which we have drawn up to be presented to Mr. Abraham,[2] in the name of us all. If it meets with your approbation, I beg you will recommend it from me to my Br. Petre [3] for his concurrence, which I very much desire. There will be no need of any subscription of names, but only to signify to us his approbation. I I have desired the same of the gentlemen at Longbirch.[4] And design to apply for the same to Mr. Walmesley.[5] And I flatter myself that our petition will be readily granted by Mr. Abraham, as we content ourselves with taking the offices out of the Common in the Roman Missal and Breviary, which will also be more agreeable to many of the priests, as it will save them the expence of buying new offices. As to the choice of the Saints, we have endeavoured to select those whom we found to have been most honoured in our ancient Calendars; or who by the general rules of Church discipline ought to be most honoured, as founders and patrons of the churches of this Kingdom: yet so as not to desire that any of their days should be holidays of obligation. If you judge any more saints should be added, or anything else should be altered or retrenched, in the above petition, we shall be glad to make it entirely conformable to your judgment. I remain,

"Hond Dear Sir,

"Ever yours in Christ,

"R. C.

"*Febr.* 23, 1773."

[1] Ushaw Archives, Ushaw Coll., vol. ii. [2] The Pope.

[3] Bishop Petre, V.A. Northern District.

[4] Bishop Hornyold, V.A. Midland District, and his coadjutor, Bishop Thomas Talbot.

[5] V.A. Western District.

Though in this letter he says they had arranged to take the offices out of the *Commune Sanctorum* in the Missal and Breviary, so as to obviate the inconvenience which all priests would be put to in obtaining Supplements, he had, as we have seen, been at the pains of compiling lessons for the second nocturn of Matins for a large number of English Saints.

There is some doubt as to what exactly was done in the matter. On the one hand there is a list extant headed *Catalogus Sanctorum quorum officia celebrandi licentiam petunt Vicarii Apostolici Regni Angliae.*[1] This list petitions for forty-eight feasts and eighteen commemorations; and it is an interesting fact that Bishop Challoner's manuscript lessons and collects, now preserved in the Westminster Archives, correspond to it exactly. This list, therefore, probably refers to the efforts which he was making for the same purpose in 1752 and the following years, because when a favourable decree was finally obtained, only twenty-two festivals were restored.[2] The decree which was dated 26th July, 1774, stated that all the names sent up had been found in the Roman martyrology, with the single exception of St. David, whose festival, however, was already observed by the Benedictines; and permission was gladly given for the future observance of the festivals therein named.[3]

Dr. Challoner had, therefore, the happiness of seeing these Saints once more honoured in the liturgy: and though the history of the English Supplement in all its details is not yet known, and several interesting points remain to be cleared up, it is certain that he had a large share in its formation.[4]

[1] Oscott Archives, Kirk's *Collectanea Anglo-Catholica*, vol. i.

[2] Propaganda Archives, *I vicari aplici d'inghilterra chiedono l'ufficio di parecchi santi nazionali; nota dei medesimi uffici e relativo Rescritto della S. Congre di Propda, 21 Marzo* 1774.

[3] The feasts so restored were St. Wulstan, 19th Jan.; St. David, 1st March; St. Chad, 2nd March; St. Cuthbert, 20th March; St. Richard, 3rd April; St. Dunstan, 19th May; St. Aldhelm, 25th May; St. William, 8th June; St. Alban, 22nd June; Translation of St. Thomas, 7th July; Translation of St. Swithin, 15th July; Translation of St. Osmund, 17th July; St. Aidan, 31st Aug.; St. Thomas of Hereford, 3rd Oct.; St. Paulinus, 10th Oct.; St. Wilfrid, 12th Oct.; Translation of St. John of Beverley, 25th Oct.; St. Winifred, 3rd Nov.; Translation of St. Erconwald, 14th Nov.; St. Edmund, 16th Nov.; St. Hugh, 17th Nov.; and St. Birinus, 5th Dec.

[4] As a fact some of his work, as we have already seen, is found in the *Officia Propria Dioecesium Angliae*, having been inserted in the following circumstances.

There is little more to record in the next three or four years of Bishop Challoner's life. From 1774 to 1777 nothing happened to disturb the even and serene existence which the venerable old man led with his chaplains, and little has been left on record about him at this time. There are occasional references to him in the diary of his friend, Mr. William Mawhood, from which we learn that he frequented the chapel at the Sardinian Embassy and often preached there, especially after vespers on Sunday afternoons.

Mr. Mawhood, whose friendship was to stand the bishop in good stead in the hour of his need, was a woollen merchant and army clothier, a man of substance who lived and did business in West Smithfield, and had also a country-house at Finchley, in which the bishop took refuge during the Gordon Riots. Dr. Challoner had a deep regard for Mr. and Mrs. Mawhood, and even at a time when he had ceased personally to officiate at baptisms, he made a point of baptising their children himself.[1] In his pocket-book he had made notes of these baptisms, which record the names of the children and their sponsors. Fortunately Mr. Mawhood kept a diary which has been preserved by his descendants, through whose kindness it has been made available for these pages. It exists in fifty-one small volumes covering the period from 1764 to 1790, and is invaluable for the information it gives about the bishop in the last year of his life.

It is well that the kindness of this excellent Catholic family

The edition of the English supplement published in 1802 contained only two sets of historical lessons for the Offices of English Saints: *viz.* for St. Augustine and St. Bede. The Office of St. Bede was taken, as we know, from the breviary of the Cassinese Congregation. The Office of St. Augustine is the same as that contained in the Challoner draft of lessons, except the lessons in the first nocturn. But as Benedict XIV. had granted leave, on 8th Jan., 1749, for the keeping of St. Augustine's feast as a double of the first class with an octave, it is difficult to say whether Challoner embodied a recently compiled set of lessons in his draft, or whether the St. Augustine Office was compiled by Challoner himself. The 1823 edition of the English supplement has the same list of Saints as the 1802 edition; but twenty-two sets of three historical lessons, and two single lessons were added, and are due to Lingard's compilation. When in 1883 further additions were made to the list of English Saints whose feasts may be kept in England, the compiler of the supplement had the happy idea of utilising some of the lessons composed by Bishop Challoner. For the list of these see above, i., 225.

[1] See the list *Tabula baptizatorum per me Ricardum Challoner*, Note-book, Westminster Archives.

and that of other friends surrounded him, for many of his older friends were now dead. Alban Butler had died in 1773; the Duke of Norfolk, who had for fifty years so unfailingly helped him in his charities, passed away in 1777; and in 1778 Bishop Hornyold, for whom he had so deep an affection, closed his long and useful life. Finally his friend, Bishop Walton, who had succeeded Dr. Petre as Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District in 1775, himself died early in 1780.

It is true that Dr. Challoner still had the unfailing help of his coadjutor, Bishop James Talbot, whose affection watched over him, and took off from his shoulders those more arduous duties which his old age would not suffer him to perform. Yet like all men of great age he must have found less companionship as the years passed on, and lived more and more in himself. With Bishop Challoner this meant to live with God, for all his life long his conversation had been in heaven.

There are but few letters written by him during this period. Two will be found quoted in Bishop Milner's *Funeral Discourse* in the Appendix. One to a priest is given here in full on account of the interesting light it throws on the eighteenth century practice with regard to baptising converts.

"DEAR SIR,

"In answer to your query. Our practice here with regard to the baptism of those, who are desirous to come into the Church, is to make a strict enquiry into the fact, what knowledge they have, or what proofs they can produce of their Baptism. If these cannot be had, we baptise them under condition. As to the rest, such as bring proofs from the parish registers, or of their knowledge of their Godfathers and Godmothers, that they have been baptised in the Church of England, as they call it, we generally give them no scruple concerning their baptism, unless some particular circumstances occur in their case, which may require an exception from this general rule and practice of our Forefathers for these two hundred years, who have never offered to rebaptise the best of that church. As for their ministers' want of faith, that cannot invalidate the baptism given with due matter and form, such as is prescribed in their Rituals; and as for the slight manner some are said to administer it, so small a quantity of

water being sufficient, their slight sprinkling the face can scarce fail of furnishing sufficient matter.

"On the other hand were we to proceed upon the apprehensions you mention, to a general rebaptizing of converts (as this would take in numbers of all conditions who have been received into the Church for these threescore years) how shocking would this be, not to say scandalous to a great many? This is what occurs at present on the subject of your query.

"Dear Sir,

"Your servant in Christ,

"RICHARD CHALLONER.

"*April 29th*, 1775."

There is but one more incident of public interest to record before passing to the important events that were to mark the year 1778. This was the decree of the Holy See reducing the number of Holidays of Obligation observed in England, and substituting in lieu of the fast observed on their vigils the Wednesday fast and abstinence in Advent. Until that time English Catholics had observed, when possible, all the ancient Feasts of Obligation, including all the festivals of the apostles, Monday and Tuesday in Easter Week and some other days. But it was rarely possible at all, especially in the case of poorer Catholics, to whom the precept of abstaining from servile work on such days was out of the question. There ensued all the disadvantages attaching to a disciplinary law which cannot be generally obeyed. These difficulties were greatly reduced by the decree dated 9th March, 1777, which reduced the Holidays of Obligation to twelve,[1] and also transferred the fasts attached to the vigils of the suppressed feasts to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent.

Bishop Challoner made this known to his people; but, afterwards, fearing that it would be misunderstood, or lead to diminution in the devotion of Catholics to the Apostles, he wrote a special Pastoral Letter to the Catholics of the London District, in which, after explaining the reasons which had moved the Holy See to modify a disciplinary law, he urged them to fulfil

[1] Three of these, the Annunciation, Easter Monday and Whit Monday, have now also been abrogated, and one, the feast of the local patron, never seems to have been observed. The remaining eight still continue in force.

the wishes of the Church by still observing the suppressed Holidays of Obligation as Days of Devotion.[1]

"Wherefore lest this relaxation of the Church Discipline should be any detriment to the souls of the faithful, or any ways diminish their veneration for so many great and glorious saints, whose festivals they have been used to keep, we find ourselves obliged on this occasion, to call upon all our Catholics, whose circumstances will allow it, and earnestly to exhort them to continue still to observe those days with the same devotion as before; and no less diligently to attend on them to the Church-service, both in the Forenoons and Afternoons, where they have opportunity for so doing; trusting in the piety and religion of the Ministers of Catholic Powers residing in this capital, that they will be pleased to continue to keep open their chapels on those days, and to honour, as they have hitherto been accustomed to do, with high mass and vespers, these feasts of so many glorious Saints, revered through all Christendom.

"✠ Richard Deboren.
"✠ James Birthan."

If at the close of 1777, any one had asked Bishop Challoner, then in his eighty-seventh year, what expectations he could form for the future, what word of hope could he have spoken? For close on fifty years he had now laboured in London, and the cause of the Church seemed to have made no progress. It was something to think that the scanty gains balanced the losses. He once spoke words that seem to show that he had some knowledge of a great revival yet to come, but this belief must have arisen, if not from some special grace of God, at least from that spirit of confidence which is part of a Catholic's birthright. There were no signs of the times from which any could have gleaned that the season of hope was at hand. Yet so it was, and God was about to allow his servant to see some beginning of better things for his flock, some measure of larger liberty for his children, before he was to close his eyes in death. And though no one yet surmised it, this time had now arrived.

[1] Hence the name "Days of Devotion" still applied to these days in our calendar.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE FIRST CATHOLIC RELIEF ACT.

1778.

WHEN the year 1778 opened, the social and legal condition of Catholics was neither better nor worse than it had been for three-quarters of a century. Nor did any one anticipate a change. Yet it was the year 1778 which was to bring the first relief from the long persecution, and which, ever since, has rightly been regarded as the beginning of that slow restoration of our rights which was to culminate in Catholic Emancipation.

In this gradual process there have been three stages. The First Catholic Relief Act restored the elementary rights of inheritance and purchase of land, and rendered the position of the bishops and priests less precarious and dangerous than before. The Second Relief Act—that of 1791, a far more important measure,—swept away the penal code strictly so called and made it once more lawful for English Catholics to worship God in their own manner in their own land. But they remained liable to grievous civil disabilities. These were almost entirely removed by the great Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

The final act of justice has yet to be done; for so long as Catholics, alone of all the king's subjects, are debarred from holding the Great Seal of England, or acting as Viceroy of Ireland, we cannot consider that our full rights have been restored. When these rights are given back to us, and the last vestiges of disabilities reserved by the Emancipation Act are removed, and the restrictions upon the sovereign and those in the direct line of succession are abolished, we shall enter upon our full inheritance of freedom.

Looking back upon the Catholic Relief Act of 1778, the first points that strike us are its suddenness, and the rapidity

with which it came into being. In January no one dreamed of it: in June it was an accomplished fact. Considering merely the human causes that are used by the Divine Providence of God to attain the ends of His wisdom, we find that this sudden success was due to the chance necessities of a transient political situation, deftly seized upon by a knot of determined and energetic men to obtain from Parliament a measure of justice, which it preferred to consider as, and expressly declared to be, one of "Expediency".

Yet even expediency had failed a few years before to obtain a fragmentary relief sought for one section of the king's Catholic subjects, who were directly employed in his service. So futile, in fact, was the attempt that it has been almost forgotten; and few Catholics remember that any efforts had been made in their favour before 1778.

It seems well, then, to recall that as early as the year 1770 such an effort, though of a very partial kind, had been made. This first practical action taken in Parliament in favour of Catholics was due to that distinguished soldier and fine gentleman, General Sir John Burgoyne, with the active support of another English officer of the highest standing, General Conway.

General Burgoyne had already seen service in France and Portugal, and had secured his place in military history by raising the first regiment of light cavalry that had been formed in England. In later days he also achieved success as a writer of comedies, but these, like his share in the American War of Independence, were still in the future. During the war in Portugal he had come across many Catholic soldiers,—men who were serving their country in spite, it may be said, of the law; and not without violence to their own conscience. Hence, when Burgoyne, seconded by Conway, rose in the House of Commons on the 11th of December, 1770, to propose a motion for providing soldiers for the British Army, he drew attention to the grievances of the Catholic soldiers, and demanded that they should be remedied. As the law stood, every recruit had to take the attestation oath, thereby swearing himself to be a Protestant: and though sometimes, when the Government was hard pressed, that clause of the oath was omitted, nevertheless all Catholics who entered the ranks did so nominally as Protestants. In his speech, Burgoyne bluntly

said that during the recent war he had had the honour of commanding 500 Roman Catholics: it was true that they had come to him as Protestants, but it was also well known that the poor fellows went, when they were able, to their own place of worship; and as they went out of uniform, he had not opposed it. He declared that they were as brave soldiers as any in the British Army; and that foreign nations were astonished that so many fine soldiers should be forced into foreign service by the imposition of oaths at home, which they could not take without violating truth and religion.[1]

Nothing, however, came of Burgoyne's motion. It was not till the Government were in the midst of their unsuccessful American War, and were threatened with a Continental War in addition, that they began to think it might be expedient to conciliate Catholics with a view to obtaining their services in the army.

By the end of 1777 things were in evil plight for the Government. It is true that Chatham's motion against the use of arms to subdue the colonists had been rejected, and that the English troops had taken Philadelphia; but owing to the incredible neglect and blunders of the Home Government, the military tactics, by which Burgoyne marching down from Canada was to be reinforced by General Clinton from New York, miscarried, and Burgoyne was forced to surrender at Saratoga.[2] At the same time, war with France and Spain was imminent.

The Ministers at this juncture turned their attention to the Scottish Catholics of the Highlands, where recruiting appeared to promise well. It seemed a favourable opportunity to secure the wholesale support of these Catholics, even at the cost of some concessions. Accordingly they despatched a confidential agent to Scotland to ascertain, first, how the Catholics

[1] Letter, Coghlan to Bishop Hay, Dec. 18, 1770, *Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 143.

[2] His reply to one of the articles of capitulation offered by his conqueror, General Gates, was characteristic of the man. The American proposition ran: "General Burgoyne's army being reduced by repeated defeats, by desertion, by sickness, etc., their military horses, tents and baggage taken or destroyed, their retreat cut off and their camp invested, they can only be allowed to surrender as prisoners of war". To this article Burgoyne's reply was: "Lieut.-General Burgoyne's army, however reduced, will never admit that their retreat is cut off while they have arms in their hands". Nevertheless he had to surrender in the end, but did so with honour, General Gates handing him back his sword.

were generally disposed to regard the war with America; next, what grounds there were to expect that they would enter freely into his majesty's service if invited, and, finally, what ameliorations in their social condition would they look for as an equivalent for their services. The agent entrusted with this mission was Sir John Dalrymple, one of the barons of the Scottish Exchequer. He obtained an interview with Bishop Hay, who, on the 18th of February, 1778, returned a written reply to his three questions.[1]

In this the bishop immediately raised the question of the repeal of the penal code, though this did not, at the time, seem within the limits of practical politics.

"Were the whole Penal Laws against them to be repealed, and they restored to all the rights and privileges of their fellow subjects, this would, doubtless, attach them wholly to His Majesty's person and government for ever. . . . But as a total repeal is not to be thought of, in the present situation of affairs, and perhaps not even to be wished for, in my humble opinion, the removal of three impediments would suffice to effectuate what you propose, and would be necessary for that purpose."

He then enumerates these impediments: first, the repeal of the laws against all hearers and sayers of Mass; secondly, a repeal of the statutes which allow the Protestant seller of an estate to take it back from the Catholic purchaser without returning the price, and of those which enable the Protestant heir to take the estate from the Catholic proprietor; thirdly, the abolition of that part of the attestation oath, which regards religion, so that recruits should be required only to swear fidelity to the king and obedience to the laws of war.

These terms are important as they became the basis of all subsequent negotiations. Bishop Hay had, in addition, impressed upon Sir John Dalrymple the importance of securing the co-operation of the English Catholics, and Sir John subsequently applied to him for letters of introduction to Bishop Challoner and some of the leading laymen.

On Sir John's return to London, he showed Bishop Hay's written reply to the Prime Minister, Lord North, and to the only other two members of the Cabinet who were aware of the

[1] Printed in Stothert's *Catholic Church in Scotland* (*cit. sup.*), p. 145.

negotiations, Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Lord Suffolk. The terms were regarded as satisfactory by the three Ministers, whose need of help from the Scottish Catholics was all the greater, as the French ambassador had now been recalled to Paris and war between England and France was declared.

By the end of March, Sir John Dalrymple received from Dr. Hay letters to Bishops Challoner and Talbot. But the bishop declined to send any introductions to the English Catholic laity, "both that I might not appear too assuming in an affair of this kind, which might perhaps disgust; and I thought it more likely to promote the matter in a cordial manner, if we, in this country, rather seem to follow than to lead; and also, because I know the above two gentlemen have great weight among our friends over all England, and can give the best advice of any others, who are the proper persons to be applied to on this affair. The former is a venerable old gentleman, revered by all that know him on account of his great merit: the other, besides his own personal merit, is brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury."

Bishop Hay further suggested that "as it may not be convenient to the old gentleman to receive a visit at all times," Sir John should enclose his letters of introduction with his card, and ask for an appointment for an interview at which Bishop Talbot might also be present.

As a matter of fact Dr. Talbot was absent from London and Sir John's interview with Bishop Challoner was not very successful. He found the bishop "old and timid and using twenty difficulties". Doubtless it seemed to the old man of eighty-seven a strange and bold step for Catholics to take any sort of public action; while the terrible scenes which took place two years later, during the Gordon Riots, proved in the event that his timidity was not without good and solid ground. Having been all his long life accustomed to the usual Catholic attitude of thankfulness for being only let alone, it was not easy to realise that, in some sudden and unlooked-for manner, relief was to be expected.

Others shared his opinion. Sir John Dalrymple was equally unsuccessful with the old Catholic conveyancer, Mr. Matthew Duane, whose authority on legal matters was great.

He thought the measure was "imprudent if not dangerous," and would have nothing to say to it. In fact Sir John seemed to be making no headway at all among English Catholics until he chanced to meet the man whose energy gave an impulse to the movement among the laity which went far to carry it through to its conclusion. This was William Sheldon, a young lawyer of Gray's Inn, who had been educated at St. Omer under the Jesuits, and who had been one of the boys who had escaped from St. Omer to Bruges when the Society was expelled from France. Being now only thirty-four years of age, he was still young enough to have the hopeful vigour and initiative required to lead so new a departure as a movement among Catholics for their relief. He was well qualified for the part he took, being a man of ability and resource. From the first he was convinced that this was a matter, not so much for the bishops and clergy as for the laity; so he turned the direction of affairs into other channels, to such purpose that, from this time till the Act had been passed, neither Dr. Challoner nor his coadjutor were again consulted in the matter.

Meanwhile the aged bishop had been giving his thoughts to the question, on his own account, as is shown by an undated memorandum in his handwriting, still in the diocesan archives. So far from showing the timidity of which Sir John Dalrymple had complained, the petition drawn up by the bishop went much further than anything which Bishop Hay had proposed or which in the event was gained. In one particular,—the question of the Marriage Act—he touched on a grievance which the laymen entirely overlooked.

"What the Catholics of England humbly petition for at this juncture.

"First, that they may be allowed by act of Parliament full liberty of conscience for the private exercise of their religion.

"Secondly, that all the Penal laws enacted against them may be repealed. And, with them, the Act of giving up their estates to the next Protestant heir.

"Thirdly, that the Test Act made under Charles the Second or any other requiring of them any oath contrary to the tenets of their religion should also be repealed.

"And fourthly, with regard to the Marriage Act, by which they think themselves aggrieved by being obliged to receive

the nuptial benediction from a minister who is of another communion, they humbly crave that they may be exempted from this obligation.

"Thus far had I written, when I was honoured by a visit from Lord Stourton who objects against our sueing for a repeal of all the penal statutes; which he thinks will not be obtained; and will appear an exorbitant demand. But, after hearing all that his Lordship has alleged, it appears to me very evident, that the first and principal thing we must petition for is liberty of conscience, and a toleration by law of the private exercise of our religion; without which there can be no security either for our persons or property against any malicious informer who as long as these penal statutes subsist will have it in his power, even in spite of the Government, in many ways to give us trouble."[1]

The result was that the bishop, on consideration, felt that his demands were too large, and after consultation with Bishop Hay and his own coadjutor, came to the conclusion that the surest way was to ask simply for free toleration. This view the three prelates expressed in a joint letter which they addressed to Lord Petre and the committee.[2]

"My Lord,

"Considering of how great importance it is not to lose the present favourable opportunity of getting something essential done in favour of Religion, and how much the time presses to come to a Resolution, we beg leave to present our sentiments to your Lordship and the Gentlemen of the Committee on this occasion, and are of an opinion that the most effectual and speedy way would be to ask for the present, at once, a free toleration of Religion in private, without any mention of particular Grievances. This it appears to us, would be more easily granted, and appears a reasonable demand. It would effectually secure our Persons and Properties against our enemies, it would require no length of time for the Parliament to come to a determination upon it. Whereas asking a

[1] Westminster Archives.

[2] The original of this letter is not known to exist, but there is a transcript among the family papers of Lady Beaumont, at Carlton Towers, Yorkshire.

Repeal of particular statutes must draw out the matter to a greater length, and perhaps not to be finished this Session of Parliament. This is, in fact, the basis of all the rest, and all other particular points can afterwards be considered and decided at Leisure. The obtaining of this secures the whole, although nothing more should be done for some time. Whereas any particular Repeal without this, is doing nothing at all to the main affairs; and if any change of circumstances should put a stop to the doing more, it's just leaving us where we are.

"We therefore may earnestly recommend to you my Lord and the Gentlemen of the Committee, to consider seriously what we here propose, and hope upon reflection you will find this the most proper Ground on which to proceed in this affair.

"✠ RICHARD CHALLONER.
"✠ JAMES TALBOT.
"✠ GEORGE HAY."[1]

There is no trace in the Diocesan Archives of the reply to this letter, and the bishop did not again intervene until the members of the committee requested his sanction for the oath of allegiance to the reigning house they had drafted in the bill.

So far as Catholics themselves were concerned, the chief difficulty lay in this very oath, which was to be the price of their relief. Apart from the few whose inherited Jacobite sympathies might raise some scruple, and who would object to the oath altogether on principle, there was no hesitation whatever in swearing allegiance to the king. But past experience had taught Catholics what disastrous consequences might arise from the adoption of an ambiguous form. The Oath of Supremacy exacted by Queen Elizabeth, for instance, had been expressed in terms which most Catholics felt to be clear evidence of its unlawfulness; yet even in that case some had contended that its terms were capable of an orthodox interpretation. But this difference was entirely forgotten in the fiercer controversy which was raised about the new oath as framed by James I. During his reign and that

[1] In the transcript crosses are prefixed to the names. This episcopal usage had not been customary before 1778, but Bishop Challoner and his coadjutor resumed it in the first document issued by them after the Act had been passed. See below, p. 208.

of his successor Catholics had found themselves divided just when there was never more need of union.

Anything like a recrudescence of these unhappy divisions had to be carefully avoided. The difficulty with regard to the oath of King James had been largely concerned with the use of the word "heretical" as applied to the doctrine of the deposing power. In 1778 this rock of offence was avoided by substituting the simple statement that the doctrine in question was not an article of faith.

Another point for consideration was the attitude which the Pope might adopt towards any proposed oath of allegiance. It was true that the oath imposed by the Irish Act of 1774, which permitted the Irish Catholics to testify their loyalty to King George by swearing allegiance in prescribed form, had been allowed; but the Holy See was naturally cautious in giving the seal of its approval to such formulas. In the case of the oath now drawn up, the proposed measure passed into law so rapidly that the oath could only be considered when it had become an accomplished fact, no longer susceptible of modification. Fortunately, however, it was finally so framed that there was no need for any subsequent objection to it on the part of either the vicars apostolic or the Holy See.[1]

Meanwhile Sir John Dalrymple, having failed with Dr. Challoner and Mr. Duane, approached Mr. Macnamara of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and, communicating the scheme to him, asked whether the English Catholics would concur with those of Scotland in approaching the king. Mr. Macnamara thereupon referred him to Mr. Sheldon, and himself told that gentleman what was intended. Mr. Sheldon, with prompt activity, called upon Sir John Dalrymple on the following day, Friday, 2nd April, 1778; and there took place the meeting from which such unexpected results were to happen. Sir John explained the three points suggested by Bishop Hay, and told Mr. Sheldon that he had communicated the whole affair to Bishop Challoner, who was alarmed at the idea, and feared the jealousy of the Dissenters and a consequent per-

[1] In this respect the proposed oath differed from that which was drawn up for the 1791 measure, when the original controversy was revived by the wanton and unnecessary return to the phraseology of the oath of James I.

secution against himself and the Catholic body at large. The sequel to this is best told in Mr. Sheldon's own words:—[1]

"I strongly opposed any application to our clergy in temporal matters, the English Roman Catholic Gentlemen being quite able to judge and act for themselves in these affairs, and that my opinion was they would most heartily concur, but to make sure I would wait upon those in Town. I called on the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Shrewsbury, Lord Petre, Sir Robert Throckmorton, Mr. Constable of Burton, Mr. Fermor, Mr. Maxwell Constable, Messrs. Errington, Sir Edward Swinburne, Mr. Wright, Mr. Englefield, etc. etc. They generally concurred heartily; a few demurred, but would follow the opinion of the majority of the body. It was decided to call a meeting by issuing the following card, 'You are desired to meet the Roman Catholic Gentlemen now in Town at the Thatched House Tavern in St. James's Street, on Thursday the 9th instant at 12 o'clock, to consult on matters of general consequence to yourself and them'. But this card being deemed by some imprudent, the following was agreed to: 'Your company is desired on some particular business at the Thatched House Tavern on Saturday the 11th instant at 12 o'clock, and to dine at the half hour after four if agreeable. April 8th 1778.'"

Meanwhile opportunity was taken to sound the principal members, both of the Government and of the Opposition, with a view to ascertaining the attitude they would adopt if a measure relieving Catholics were introduced. The members of the Ministry were all friendly. Lord North saw in it the successful development of his scheme. Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice of England,—wise and upright judge that he was—supported the idea warmly. He had seen in his own court too much of the injustice of the law, as it stood, to oppose its alteration for the better; and moreover his old friendship with the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk had left a kindness for all Catholics in his heart. Lord George Germain, Lord Townsend, Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, were all well disposed; and Lord Weymouth undertook to mention the matter to the king himself.

There was more difference of opinion among the opposi-

[1] *Minutes relating to the Bill of 1778, by William Sheldon, Esq.*, Westminster Archives.

tion; though nothing like open hostility was met with. That straightforward Englishman, the Marquess of Rockingham, who had already been Prime Minister once, and who was to fill that office yet once again, expressed his entire approval, an important accession, considering the position he held as one of the great Whig leaders. On the other hand there was considerable doubt as to the probable action of that enigma of a man, Lord Shelburne. He, too, was to become a Prime Minister, though he was distrusted by all parties alike. On this occasion he offered many cordial expressions of sympathy; but, on being pressed for a more definite explanation, replied that "he loved the Roman Catholics, but lived with the Presbyterians, and would support them by G—d". In the event, however, he remembered that he had Irish estates,—and so, in spite of his Presbyterian neighbours, found courage to second the bill when it reached the House of Lords. Edmund Burke, who never received from his contemporaries the recognition which posterity has awarded him, was most cordial, and prepared an address which he thought might be adapted so as to be suitable. On the whole it seemed that little parliamentary opposition would be forthcoming; and the promoters of the measure went forward with renewed energy.

On the 10th of April, the day before the great meeting, a certain number of gentlemen dined at Mr. Stapleton's house, so as to arrange the proceedings for the following day. The idea was that, as about thirty gentlemen would attend the meeting, a solid body of eight, determined beforehand on their line of action, would probably be able to carry any resolution they wished. They, therefore, arranged in advance that, failing the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Petre should preside and open the business by stating the application from Scotland; and that then a motion should be made in favour of addressing the king, and a committee formed to prepare the address.

On the 11th of April the meeting at the Thatched House Tavern took place, and all was carried through as the smaller meeting on the previous day had planned. Lord Petre took the chair, and the resolution to address the king was passed. A ballot was then taken to appoint a committee by which the address was to be drawn up. The names selected were those of Lord Petre, Mr. Stapleton, Mr. Berkeley, Mr. Hornyold

and Mr. Sheldon. Finally, by desire of the meeting, the Earl of Surrey and Sir Edward Swinburne were added to the committee. It was further resolved that the address, when drafted, was to be submitted to another general meeting to be held on Monday, 27th April, and that the committee should write a letter to every Catholic gentleman of position in the country, telling them what had been done, and inviting them to attend the meeting, and sign the address.

These resolutions were signed by all present with the exception of two dissentients, Sir John Webbe and Mr. Thomas Eyre. As the meeting broke up, Lord Petre, Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Sheldon, going away together, were met by Sir John Dalrymple, who was most anxious to know what had been done. They, however, were not communicative. "We told him of the Resolution and avoided further converse."

The reason for this caution was the suspicion the Catholics secretly entertained with regard to the real intentions of Sir John Dalrymple. Some even believed him to be an agent in the employ of France or the United States. This appears clearly from a letter written by Mr. Stapleton to Sir Thomas Gascoigne,[1] which incidentally throws much light on the whole situation, particularly on the readiness of the Whig leaders to assist the measure, in view of the action of the American Congress in inviting Catholics to emigrate to the States. Mr. Stapleton gives an account of the origin of the Relief Bill and continues:—

"How that affair first came about it's almost hard to say. Sir John Dalrymple, who wrote the *Memoirs*, happened to be in Town. He told L. Petre, myself and Billy Sheldon that he wondered that the Roman Catholics did not make application for a Relaxation of the Penal laws, as he was sure it would be complied with, and had reason to say it. Upon that we three met, and knowing him to be a particular character, and [that he] by his book had made himself many enemies, and was greatly obnoxious to many, and having heard that he had been employed as a spy, we did not know in what light to consider him. As the thing was a scheme I had long wished for, and Lord Petre I found equally warm about it, we agreed to try it, but to be

[1] July 24th, 1778. Copy in *Stonor's Roman Agency*, Southwark Archives.

very cautious in every thing with regard to Sir John: which I strongly recommended and for the following reason. There had been many thousand hand-bills distributed in Ireland at the instigation of a Mr. Charles Carroll, a Ro[man] Cath[olic] of the Congress in America, promising every individual that would emigrate to America a proportional quantity of land according to his birth and station of life, with full toleration; and that no Religious tenets should be any hindrance to any preferment whatsoever. This greatly alarmed many who had great property there, and was a great help, for what would become of the estates of Rockingham, Shelbourne, Hillsborough, Sir Geo. Saville etc. if the people left the kingdom: Many also were of opinion that the French might make a descent on Ireland, and were greatly apprehensive that the Roman Cath[olic]s of that country would join them. Both these, I am sure, was much feared, and was of much use to us. Now, whether Sir John had any authority from people in the administration, or was employed by them or the French to find out the sentiments of our people, was the thing to fish out. He again was very anxious to know our ideas with regard to America. In fine, from the constant attendance he paid, there seemed many reasons to suspect, and we acted accordingly, and having settled things in the manner we thought most likely, Lord Petre took part of administration, Lord North, Bp. of Canterbury, Lord Suffolk and some others; Macnamara, L[d] Weymouth, the Chancellor, Lord Sandwich, Rigby, and that party: I, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Rockingham and Sir J. Saville. Everything went much better from the first than we could or ever did expect: nor did, or do any party know to whom we first made supplication, and each think they were the first to whom application was made. The greatest difficulty was to get Lord Shelbourne and the dissenters, and indeed he first refused, and said that he would never come into anything that might relieve any set of people, till such times as the Test Oath was taken off, but desired some few days to consider it. During which time, I understand he consulted Mr. Priestly, who, I suppose, was our Friend, as he then consented to support our petition. He mentioned the dissenters in his speech several times, and said he hoped soon to see them released as to the test. I have now given you the whole history

of it as far as we have gone: but I forgot to tell you that Sir John used to be for ever saying that he had seen this morning Lord Geo. Germaine, and another morning L^d^ North and they said so and so, but we were greatly surprised to find, when we came to enter into the affair that they neither wished nor desired Sir John to have anything to say about it. And I am very certain that the minority would have given the thing up, had they known Sir John had any concern in it thô in fact he was of great use to us. Macnamara did not draw up the address: he was chose counsel, and was of great service: but Mr. Burke was the man who drew it up, and which I told you in a former letter, it is not known by many, and wish it may not be for the present. Never anything was so much admired. Lord Mansfield said it exceeded anything he had ever seen."

During the few days that followed the general meeting, the committee was active. They drew up a general letter, a copy of which was sent to nearly 200 gentlemen throughout the country. Replies were favourable, only five objecting to the measure. These were Mr. Neville of Holt, Mr. Salvin of Croxdale, the Hon. Everard Arundell, the Hon. Edward Clifford and Mr. Hussey. Meanwhile news came that Lord Weymouth had informed the King about the proposed address, and "that they might rely on such Address being received in a gracious manner". Finally the terms of the address were settled by the committee and unanimously approved.

About eighty gentlemen attended the second general meeting on the 27th of April, held as before at the Thatched House Tavern. Lord Petre read the address, which was unanimously approved, and signed, in person or by proxy, by 207 gentlemen.[1]

On the following day, Lord Petre waited on the Prime Minister to inform him that the address had been signed: and at the same time Mr. Sheldon ascertained from Lord Weymouth that his majesty would receive the address on the following Friday, if presented by two or three persons only.

In the meantime, Sir John Dalrymple had written to Lord

[1] Father Amherst (*History of Catholic Emancipation*, i., 97), following Charles Butler, *Historical Memoirs of English Catholics*, ii., 76, says it was signed by ten peers and 163 commoners. But the higher figure in the text is given on the authority of Mr. Sheldon (memorial cited above) and a document in Kirk's *Collectanea Anglo-Catholica*, i., 241, Oscott Archives.

Linton, urging him to come to London to represent the Scottish Catholics, as his father the Earl of Traquair was living in France and unable to be present. Lord Linton consented on condition that Bishop Hay would accompany him. This was arranged, and they arrived in London on the very day of the general meeting. Lord Linton attended the meeting, and with Mr. George Maxwell signed the address on behalf of the Scottish Catholics. Bishop Hay had also accompanied Lord Linton to the Thatched House Tavern; but was refused admittance to the meeting, Sir Robert Throckmorton bluntly remarking "We don't want Bishops".

The address was presented to the king at a public *levée* on the 1st of May by the Earl of Surrey, Lord Petre and Lord Linton, and ran as follows:—[1]

"To ye King's most excellent Majesty.
"The humble address of the Roman Catholic peers and commoners of Great Britain.
"Most Gracious Sovereign

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Roman Catholic Peers and Commoners of your kingdom of Great Britain, most humbly hope that it cannot be offensive to ye clemency of your Majesty's nature or the maxims of your just and wise government, that any part of your subjects should approach your Royal presence to assure your Majesty of the respectful affection which they bear to your Person, and their true attachment to the civil constitution of their country which having been *perpetuated thrô all changes of Religious opinions, and establishments, has been at length perfected by that revolution, which has placed your Majesty's Illustrious house on the throne of these Kingdoms, and inseparably united your title to ye crown with the laws and Liberties of your People.*

"Our exclusion from many of ye benefits of that constitution has not diminished our reverence to it. We behold with satisfaction the felicity of our fellow subjects, and we partake of ye general prosperity which results from an institution so full of Wisdom. We have patiently submitted to such restric-

[1] It is here reprinted from the MS. copy belonging to Dr. C. Stonor and bound up in his *Roman Agency Papers*, Southwark Archives. The passage in italics was marked, as some exception was subsequently taken to it.

tions, and discouragements, as the Legislature thought expedient. We have thankfully received such relaxations of the rigour of ye Laws, as the mildness of an enlightened age and the benignity of y^r^ Majesty's government have gradually produced; and we submissively wait, without presuming to suggest either time or measure, for such other indulgence, as those happy causes cannot fail in their own season to effect.

"We beg leave to assure your Majesty that our dissent from the legal establishment in matters of Religion is purely conscientious; that we hold no opinions averse to your Majesty's government, or repugnant to the duties of good citizens: and we trust that this has been shewn more decisively by our irreproachable conduct for several years past under circumstances of public discountenance and displeasure, than it can be manifested by any declarations whatever.

"In time of public danger, when your Majesty's subjects can have but one interest, and ought to have but one wish and one sentiment, we humbly hope it will not be deemed improper to assure your Majesty of our unreserved affection to your government, of our unalterable attachment to y^e^ cause and welfare of this our common country, and of our detestation of the designs and views of any foreign power against the dignity of your Majesty's crown, the safety and tranquillity of y^r^ Majesty's Subjects. The delicacy of our situation is such that we do not presume to point out the particular means by which we may be allowed to testify our zeal to your Majesty and our wishes to serve our country.

"But we entreat leave faithfully to assure your Majesty that we shall be perfectly ready on every occasion to give such proofs of our fidelity, and the purity of our intentions, as your Majesty's wisdom, and the sense of the nation shall at any time deem expedient."

His majesty received the address graciously, and after the *levée* expressed himself as highly gratified with it. On the following day it was gazetted, and made a favourable impression on the public.

The true import and effect of this address was explained by Edmund Burke in one of his splendid bursts of eloquence.[1]

[1] Speech to the Electors of Bristol, 1780.

". . . When the English nation seemed to be dangerously, if not irrecoverably, divided; when one, and that the most growing branch, was torn from the parent stock, and ingrafted on the power of France, a great terror fell upon this kingdom. On a sudden we awakened from our dreams of conquest, and saw ourselves threatened with an immediate invasion; which we were at that time very ill prepared to resist. You remember the cloud that gloomed over us all. In that hour of our dismay, from the bottom of the hiding-places into which the indiscriminate rigour of our statutes had driven them, came out the body of the Roman Catholicks. They appeared before the steps of a tottering throne, with one of the most sober, measured, steady and dutiful addresses that was ever presented to the crown. It was no holiday ceremony; no anniversary compliment of parade and show. It was signed by almost every gentleman of that persuasion, of note or property, in England. At such a crisis, nothing but a decided resolution to stand or fall with their country could have dictated such an address; the direct tendency of which was to cut off all retreat; and to render them peculiarly obnoxious to an invader of their own communion. The address shewed what I long languished to see, that all the subjects of England had cast off all foreign views and connexions, and that every man looked for his relief from every grievance, at the hands only of his own natural government."

Once it seemed certain that there would be no public outcry if a relieving measure were introduced into Parliament, the next step was to ascertain the general feeling of members on both sides of the House. If introduced as a Ministerial bill, there was the chance of its being opposed on party grounds, so that it was most desirable for it to be treated as a non-contentious measure. This was, fortunately, not only possible but comparatively easy to secure. The time was favourable. The war with France had awakened the fear of invasion, and at the same time it was known that the American Congress had invited a general emigration of Catholics, and was offering entire liberty of conscience. The Government was anxious to unite the nation against the combined forces of France and America; while, as to the Opposition, religious liberty had always been one of the Whig watchwords, and it required but

little stretching of their principles to extend this to Catholics. Moreover, many Whigs such as Edmund Burke, Sir George Savile and Lord Rockingham himself, were genuinely anxious that justice should be done to Catholics, upon principles of equity rather than of mere expediency.

The Government had already, through Lord George Germain, requested the Catholics to prepare a note as to what they wished Parliament to do, inasmuch as the penal laws were not the same in the three kingdoms; and the committee had now to consider details so far as England was concerned.

Two points seem to call for notice here. The committee had originally been formed purely with regard to the presentation of the address to the king; and that having been accomplished, their duties were naturally at an end. Yet they continued to act generally in the interests of Catholics. In the absence of any official record as to what took place at the second general meeting it cannot be alleged as certain that they were acting without any authority at all. But, on the other hand, Mr. Sheldon in his *Minutes* makes no reference to any formal continuance of their existence, or extension of their powers; and it may well be that they continued their activity merely on the assumption of tacit consent.

The second point to observe in this place, is that from this time the committee showed a distinct desire to shake themselves free of the Scottish Catholics. The reason for this is not at all clear, especially as all their proceedings had taken their rise through the recommendation of Bishop Hay to Sir John Dalrymple to seek their aid, and hitherto they had worked together in complete harmony. The first indication of the breach appeared on the 29th of April, when Sir John Dalrymple and Lord Linton attended a meeting of the committee and offered some suggestions, the nature of which has not been recorded. The answer they received was to the effect that these suggestions had already been acted upon, and that the committee preferred to act without interference; upon which "Sir John Dalrymple withdrew in great irritation".[1]

The Scottish Catholics had suggested that one common bill might include the repeal both of the obnoxious statute of William III. applying to England, and of the similar act

[1] Sheldon's *Minutes*.

which had been passed for Scotland in the year 1700. But the committee positively refused to accede to this, on the ground that, as the acts in question had been passed in two different Parliaments, it would require a separate bill for repeal of each of them. The Scottish Catholics, however, regarded this as a mere pretext for getting rid of their Relief Bill altogether.[1] They thereupon took steps for introducing a separate bill later in the session, deciding meanwhile to watch the progress of the English bill.

After some consideration the committee decided to confine themselves to asking simply for the repeal of the act of William III. The chief provisions of this act were the grant of a reward of £100 to every informer who obtained the conviction of a Catholic priest; the penalty of imprisonment for life on every Catholic bishop, priest, or schoolmaster; the disability which prevented any Catholic from inheriting or purchasing lands, or which rendered him liable to forfeit his estates to the next Protestant heir.

The objection which the bishops and clergy, had they been consulted, might have made to this suggestion was that it left them still subject to the death penalty inflicted by the statutes of Queen Elizabeth. Doubtless the rejoinder would have been that such statutes could only be put in force by Government, a proceeding of which there was no likelihood; and that by abolishing the penalty of imprisonment for life, under which John Baptist Maloney had so recently suffered, they were removing the real danger, while the abolition of the reward offered to informers would deprive those gentry of all incentive to prosecute priests. This was all true enough, yet the fact remains that even after the passing of the first Catholic Relief Act, all bishops and priests were liable by the law of the land to the full penalties for high treason; and this state of things continued until the act of 1791.

A vital provision of the proposed measure, already stated, was that its benefit was only to extend to those who took a special oath of allegiance to King George. In view of what has been said already as to previous oaths of allegiance, it might have been thought that on this point, at least, the vicars apostolic would have been consulted, but Lord Petre

[1] Stothert, *Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 147.

and his colleagues were anxious to prove to the Government that in temporal matters they were independent of the clergy, so they proceeded to draft the bill including the terms of the oath without any reference to the bishops. When the terms of the proposed oath had been settled between the Catholic Committee and the Ministry—and not till then—the bishops were consulted. Charles Butler says:[1] "Lord Petre and some other gentlemen waited on Bishop Challoner, and put it [the Oath] into his hands. He perused it with great deliberation and explicitly sanctioned it. He observed, however, that 'it contained some expressions contrary to the Roman style; that these might create difficulties at Rome, if Rome were consulted upon it beforehand: but that Rome would not object to the oath after the Bill was passed'. He, therefore, recommended to the Gentlemen, who waited upon him, 'to avoid all unnecessary delay in procuring the Act'."

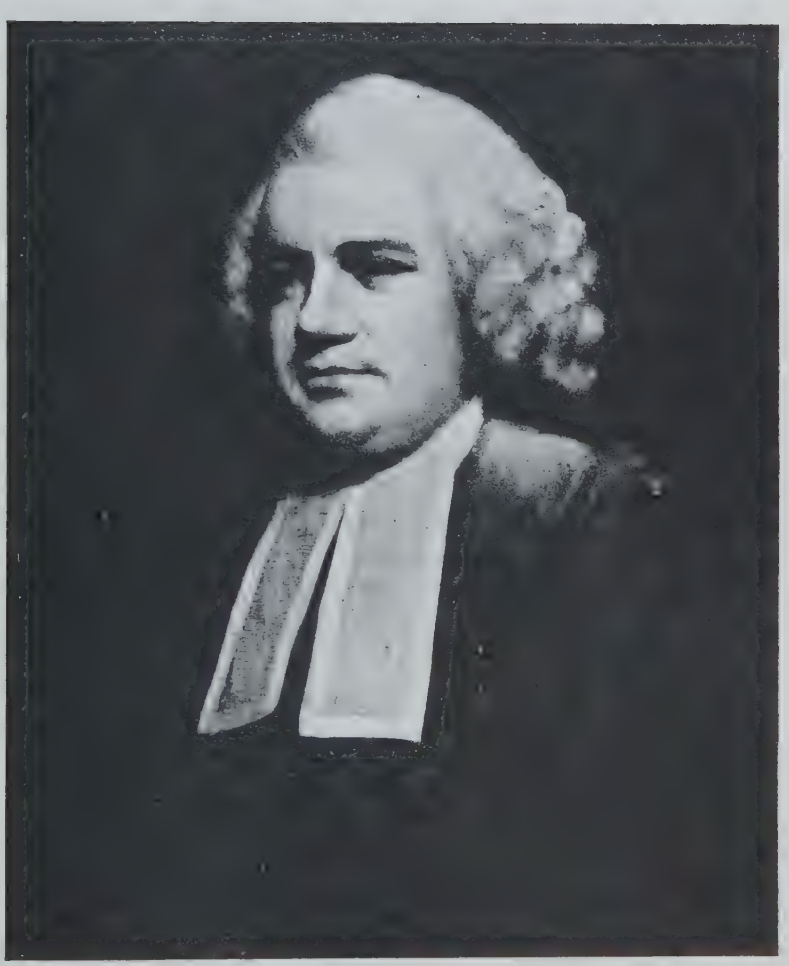
Milner gives a different account,[2] not inconsistent with the above, though it adds the very material fact that Bishop Challoner felt bound to modify the terms of the draft oath before he could approve it. For speaking of the "unfounded jealousy of the clergy which . . . had taken possession of the minds of some of the Catholic laity," he continues: "The said jealousy, however, had not affected the whole or the most respectable part of the Gentlemen, who negociated this act of Parliament; these accordingly insisted that the oath, whatever it might be, should previously be submitted to the examination and decision of Bishop Challoner, which was accordingly done in this stage of the business. There is reason to suppose that he consulted his episcopal brethren in this weighty concern: what is more certain is that he discovered some essential errors in the first plan of the oath, which were imperceptible to persons unused to theological discussions, and that at his suggestion they were reformed."[3]

The committee had directed Mr. Macnamara to prepare a suitable bill; but at his request Mr. Sheldon drafted it, and

[1] "Life of Bishop Challoner," *Catholic Magazine*, i., 719.

[2] *Life of Dr. Challoner*, p. 45.

[3] He adds in this place the interesting little detail that the bishop much admired the king because of his upright private life and pure morals, so that he the more gladly exerted himself to testify his own gratitude and loyalty when the Act was passed.



JOHN DUNNING, M.P.

carried it to Mr. Pickering, who at that time drew up all crown bills. He settled it in its final form. Lord Mansfield suggested that Edmund Burke should draw up the preamble; and this he actually did, but, as his draft did not give satisfaction, a new preamble was drawn up by John Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, who, the committee hoped, would be persuaded to introduce the bill.

At this time Dunning was the acknowledged leader of the English bar; the only doubt, as Lord Shelburne said, being "whether he excelled most at equity or common law," and he added: "There was none as to anybody's coming up to him in either".[1] In political life his independence and fearless courage had won him the respect of all parties, while, in spite of his husky voice and ungraceful figure, he was regarded as one of the greatest speakers of the day; and the House listened with delight to his powerful reasoning and brilliant wit. Though the day was yet to come when he was to propose his celebrated resolution that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished," he had already given many proofs that he would support what he thought most in the interests of the country, even in the teeth of the king and his ministers. Yet George III. liked him, and consulted him in the formation of ministries. Burke only voiced the judgment of his contemporaries when in one of his Bristol speeches he declared that there was not a man of any profession, or in any situation, of a more erect and independent spirit, a more manly mind, a more firm and determined integrity.[2]

Such was the man to whom the committee wished to entrust the Catholic Relief Bill, and they sent the Earl of Surrey to request him to introduce it. Dunning seemed at first inclined to accede, but when after some days he was asked for his final decision, he "demurred with a hint as to consulting the Dissenters, postponed his answer till the 13th instant, and finally excused himself from the task, though he consented to second the motion".

This at least is the version of the incident as recorded by Mr. Sheldon. But another story was current, and finally

[1] Kenyon's *Life of Lord Shelburne*, iii., 453.
[2] Speech to the Bristol Electors, 1780.

reached Bishop Challoner's house, where it was heard by his chaplain, the Rev. John Lindow, who in subsequent years repeated it to Bishop Douglass. According to this account, when the bill was shown to Mr. Dunning, "he asked what the lay Catholics, *viz.* the Nobility and gentry, meaned? 'What!' says he, 'don't you pray for any relief to be granted to your clergy?' He was answered: 'We only want to secure our persons and property'. 'Nothing then for your clergy?' replied Mr. Dunning. The above answer was repeated. 'Then,' says Mr. Dunning, 'I'll have nothing to do in the business.'"[1]

Whatever the truth of the story may be, the fact remains that no attempt was made by the committee to procure the repeal of those statutes of Elizabeth under which, to use Lord Mansfield's words, "it is high treason for any man who is proved to be a priest to breathe in this kingdom".

Under these circumstances, the committee turned to Sir George Savile, who, like Dunning, was distinguished for his independence of action in Parliament. A man of wealth and position, he devoted his life to public affairs, but, though he was one of the leading Whigs, he never had accepted office. Burke describes him as "a true genius with an understanding vigorous and acute and refined, and distinguishing even to excess; and illuminated with a most unbounded, peculiar and original cast of imagination".[2]

Dunning's final answer had been promised for the 13th of May, and so expeditious was the action taken, that on that very evening Sir George rose in the house, and, in the feeble voice with which he made his clear, forcible speeches, gave notice that he would next day move the House for leave to bring in a bill for relieving Roman Catholics from many of the penalties inflicted by the act of William III.; an announcement which was well received by the House at large.

An account of the debate when, on the following day, the 14th of May, Sir George Savile moved for leave to introduce the bill, has already been published by Father Amherst in his *History of Catholic Emancipation*.[3] It will not, therefore, be necessary to do more here than give a summary of the pro-

[1] Bishop Douglass's Diary under date February, 1798, Westminster Archives.
[2] Speech to the Bristol Electors, 1780. [3] Vol. i., pp. 99 *sqq*.

ceedings, adding a few particulars not officially reported but which were jotted down by Mr. Sheldon in his *Minutes*.

Sir George stated that he was induced to bring in the bill from having read the address of the Catholics to the king; but he guarded himself from any undue suspicion of Popery, by stating that "one of his principal views in proposing this Repeal was to vindicate the honour and to assert the principles of the Protestant religion, to which all persecution was, or ought to be, wholly adverse".[1] The gist of his argument was that if the Catholics were loyal they ought not to be oppressed, as allegiance and protection were reciprocal. That they were loyal would be proved by their taking the oath which he had annexed to the bill, and which was adapted to their conscience.

Dunning's speech in seconding contained his personal testimony to the many examples he himself had witnessed in the law courts of judge, jury and counsel on both sides labouring to defeat the purpose of the prosecutor. He instanced the case of John Baptist Maloney, and concluded by stating that with respect to the encouragement held out by the act of William III. "to those children who were base enough to lay hands on the estates of their parents, or which debarred a man from the honest acquisition of property, it needed only to be mentioned, in order to excite the indignation of the House".

The debate was then continued by Thurlow, the Attorney-General, who strongly supported the bill, but thought "that to repeal the penalties against popish priests exercising their functions freely, required some consideration". When Thurlow sat down, the Prime Minister, Lord North, arose; and the Speaker, thinking he wished to address the House, called upon him, but he only bowed and walked out of the House, "which some observed was better than any speech".

Further speeches having been made by Lord Beauchamp, Henry Dundas and Serjeant Adair, the House unanimously agreed to the motion with great applause. The bill was ordered to be brought in and a committee appointed to con-

[1] Burke bears witness to the fact that Sir George Savile at heart disliked Catholics. "Among his faults I really cannot help reckoning a greater degree of prejudice against that people than becomes so wise a man." At a later period he introduced a bill for "preserving the Protestant religion from the encroachments of Popery," which passed the Commons but was thrown out by the Lords.

sider the same. This committee consisted of Sir George Savile, Mr. Dunning, Lord Beauchamp, Serjeant Adair, Mr. Howard, the Attorney-General (Thurlow), the Lord Advocate (Dundas), Lord John Cavendish and Mr. Moreton.

Immediately the Lord Advocate of Scotland rose to move next year for a similar privilege for the Catholics of that country.

On the same evening, a consultation took place at the house of Sir George Savile, at which it was decided to insert a clause validating former purchases from or by Catholics, and next day a further clause limiting the time for taking the oath was also added to the bill.

On Friday, 15th May, the bill was read the first time and committed; but it was ordered not to be printed.

Proceedings in Parliament were more expeditious then than now; and within three days, on Monday, 18th May, the bill came up for second reading. By this time a clause enabling the courts in the Principality of Wales to administer the oath had been inserted. In the debate there was no opposition, though a member named Ambler in the course of his speech urged that the bar which Parliament had formerly thought proper to lay in the way of any future acquisition of landed property might not be removed. "Let them enjoy what they have," he said, "but let them not increase their possessions." This suggestion was simply ignored, and the bill passed its second reading without a division. The further progress of the measure was chiefly of a formal character. On Wednesday, 20th May, it went through committee, was reported, read a third time and passed. It would have been carried to the House of Lords at once, but the peers had already risen. On Friday, 22nd May, Sir George Savile carried it to the Upper House, where it was moved and seconded by the two future prime ministers, Lord Rockingham and—in spite of his previous declaration—Lord Shelburne. The first reading of the bill was carried at once, and the second reading fixed for 25th May. On that day it was read again and committed for the 27th.[1] An interesting side-light on the official

[1] Amherst, *History of Catholic Emancipation*, i., 106. With the second reading in the House of Lords, Father Amherst ceases to describe the progress of the bill through Parliament. What follows is taken chiefly from the *Minutes* of Mr.



Sir George Savile, Bart.

view of the previous prosecutions of priests was afforded by Lord Shelburne, who in his speech dwelt upon the case of John Baptist Maloney, who, he said, had been "apprehended and brought to trial by the lowest and most despicable of mankind, a common informing constable of the city of London". Having narrated how "the Court were reluctantly obliged to condemn him (shocking as the idea was) to perpetual imprisonment," he stated that he himself had then been in office and that "although every method was taken by the Privy Council to give a legal discharge to the prisoner, neither the laws then in force would allow of it, nor dared the King himself grant him a pardon. He, however, with his colleagues in office, were so perfectly persuaded of the impolicy and inhumanity of the law, that they ventured to give him his liberty at every hazard." Inasmuch as the Government only commuted the sentence to banishment from the kingdom, Lord Shelburne here claims more credit than he really deserved.

On Wednesday, 27th May, the bill again came before the House, but owing to some misunderstanding the Militia Bill was dealt with first; and many supporters of the Relief Bill left the House thinking that it would be passed with an unimportant amendment by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But Sheldon, who was in the precincts of the House, found that there was "much private debate, especially among the bishops". Some of them asked him why the oath was worded so as to exclude any reference to the king's right and title; but he was able to satisfy them on this head. Lord Petre had already taken the precaution of calling on the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and ascertaining that they would not oppose the bill and that their amendments were of a slight and immaterial nature.

An amendment excluding all bishops and priests from the benefits of the statute if they had not taken the oath before they were apprehended, was now successfully carried by the

Sheldon. A curious slip on Father Amherst's part occurs in this connection, as, in his account of the debate in the Lords, he wonders that Lord North did not make a speech, and suggests reasons for his silence. The real reason was that Lord North was a member of the House of Commons, and did not enter the House of Lords till he succeeded his father as Earl of Guildford in 1790.

Archbishop of Canterbury, and the further progress of the bill seemed assured, when suddenly Lord Hillsborough objected to the wording of the oath. This difficulty was, however, surmounted by some trivial alterations, and the bill was passed.

On Thursday, the 28th, it was reported but not read a third time because an amendment had been carried. This, however, was a purely technical delay, and on Monday, 1st June, it passed the third reading. On the following day, two Masters in Chancery brought the bill from the Lords back to the Commons, where, on the motion of Sir George Savile, it was read, passed and returned to the Lords at once. It had been carried through both Houses of Parliament without a single division, and on the 3rd of June received the Royal Assent.

The practical effect of this Catholic Relief Act, though very limited, was yet considerable. All the Catholics of England could once more legally inherit and purchase land; no longer need they fear that they would be dispossessed by the nearest Protestant heir; and the bishops and clergy were once for all freed from danger of prosecution by any common informer who wished to earn a hundred pounds. They were no longer liable to imprisonment for life; and, if the supreme penalty of high treason still remained hanging over their heads, this was by virtue of acts which might safely be regarded as obsolete, and which it would be impossible to enforce.

All these benefits were open to any Catholic who within six months after the passing of the act or after coming of age should take the prescribed oath of loyalty to King George.[1]

But, as Charles Butler pointed out, other advantages than those of a legal character were bestowed on Catholics by the passing of the act. He was a man of twenty-seven at the time, and looking back in old age on the results of the measure, he dwells even more on its social than on its legal effects.

"It shook the general prejudice against them [the Catholics] to its centre," he wrote; "it disposed their neighbours to think of them with kindness; it led the public to view their pretensions to further relief, with a favourable eye; and it restored to them a thousand indescribable charities, in the ordinary inter-

[1] The terms of the oath will be found in the Act, printed in Appendix F, p. 292.

course of social life, which they had seldom experienced. No Catholic, who recollects the passing of the bill, will ever forget the general anxiety of the body, while it was in its progress through the Parliament; or the smile and friendly greeting, with which his Protestant neighbour met him the day after it had passed into a law."[1]

Now that the act had passed, the committee thought it was time to make a formal report of all that had passed to the bishops. The Earl of Surrey and Mr. Berkeley were away, but Lord Petre, Sir Edward Swinburne, Mr. Sheldon, Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Hornyold called on Bishop Challoner, and handed him a copy of the act, giving an account of all that had passed, and explaining their reasons for not applying to him before. They further asked him to recommend the clergy to be silent and discreet.

The bishop in return read to them the Pastoral Letter to the Catholics of the London District, which he had written, and which was in the following terms:—

"To all the Catholick Clergy both Secular and Regular residing in Town or Country in the Southern District.

"DEAR BRETHREN,

"The great Apostle St. Paul writing to his beloved Disciple Timothy (1 Tim. ii.) and in him instructing all Christian Pastors of Souls; *desires first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings* (*eucharists*) *should be made for all men, for Kings, and all that are in high station and authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and chastity. For this is good* saith the Apostle *and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.* It is a duty we owe our Princes by his divine ordinance: and the very principal part of that *honour* which we are to give them, which is so much insisted upon in the word of God. (Romans xiii., 1 Peter ii. 13, &c.). Wherefore, dear Brethren, that both you and we may religiously comply with this most indispensable precept of God's own law; we take this occasion of addressing these lines to you in this public manner, requiring that all and every one of you should offer up your most ardent prayers to the Almighty for our most gracious Sovereign, King George

[1] *Historical Memoirs of English Catholics*, ii., 83.

the Third, and his Royal Consort, Queen Charlotte, and all their Royal family, as also that in your respective congregations (when you shall be able to meet, without danger to yourselves or your flocks, from the many grievous penal laws which stand out against the Catholics of this Kingdom) you should recommend to the rest of the faithful to offer up also their prayers for the same intentions: this being a duty which by the law of God all christian people owe to their respective Sovereigns.

"Given at London this Fourth of June 1778.

"✠ Richard Deboren.

✠ James Birthan."

Subsequently the members of the committee addressed a circular letter to all the bishops, and with this their active intervention ceased.

The Vicars Apostolic of the Northern and Midland Districts adopted Bishop Challoner's pastoral as it stood. Bishop Walmesley issued a separate pastoral for the Western District, in which besides the prayers for the king and the royal family which the other bishops recommended, he ordered his priests to insert the king's name in the Canon of the Mass.[1]

Bishop Challoner's view of the act, and the manner in which it was passed, remains on record in the letter which he wrote to the Roman agent, explaining why the vicars apostolic had not consulted Propaganda with reference to the oath.[2]

"Hond. Dear Sir

"As to the other part of your letter relating to y^e late Act of Parliament, and the oath therein prescribed, I shall give you here a short account of what has been done by us, I mean by the Clergy and their Superiors, in this whole affair. The first introduction to the obtaining this act was an address which was made to the King, signed by all the Catholic Peers and Baronets, and a great multitude of our chiefest Gentry, which was highly pleasing to his Majesty. In the making this address we were no ways consulted: and these gentlemen, having chosen a committee of seven of them to carry on the procuring the act, and having gained over to their side all the chiefs that were in the opposition, they made it a point to take no notice

[1] See Amherst, Vol. I., p. 110.

[2] Letter, Bp. Challoner to Dr. Christopher Stonor, 7th August, 1778, Southwark Archives, *Stonor's Roman Agency*, p. 279.

of us in the whole affair, that they might not appear, as they said, to be anyways governed in such affairs as these, or influenced by their Priests. Neither were we allowed to have any share in framing the oath, that was to be taken by such as were to be benefited by the act, or to oppose any clause in said oath: nor did we, indeed, apprehend, that this oath would be required of us Priests, till an amendment of the act was proposed by the Bishops in Parliament, and carried in both Houses; by which our Bishops, Jesuits and Priests were all to take the oath out of hand, or to be liable to be prosecuted. Thus you see we had no time to consult Superiors with you about that clause of the oath you speak of, or any other. But as the cause of Religion, which we take much more to heart, than our own personal security, seemed to require of us that we should make no opposition to our people's taking this oath, if it could be any way taken in conscience, we thought it our duty to consider attentively in the sight of God, and not without much prayer, the whole tenor of the oath and every part of it: and not being able by this examination to discover anything contrary to Faith and good morals, so far from opposing it, we thought it more to the glory of God, and the advantage of Religion, that we should encourage as many of ours, as consulted us, to take the said oath without scruple. The same appear to have been the sentiments of all my *confrères*, and in conformity to these our sentiments, the generality of the Priests, as well as of the Catholic Laity throughout the whole kingdom have already taken the oath. We have also published in this district, as the Bishops of Ireland had done before in that kingdom, a mandate directed to all our Clergy both Secular and Regular, requiring of them in all their respective congregations to offer up their prayers for the King and Queen by name, and for the Royal Family. And in this we meet with no opposition. In this short account of our whole proceedings in this whole affair, our Superiors, if you judge it proper it should be laid before them, will see the grounds and motives on which we have proceeded, which we flatter ourselves will not be disapproved by them. Mr. Talbot is much yours, but none more than, H^d^ Sir,

"Your humble Servant,
"R. CHALLONER."

As usual Dr. Challoner had been consulted by some of the other bishops, and had not shrunk from the responsibility of giving a clear lead. Thus he wrote to Bishop Hornyold :— [1]

"HONOURED DEAR SIR,

"In compliance with yours to Mr. Browne, I here send you my thoughts with regard to the Oath proposed by the late Act of Parliament, which I have examined and seriously considered on, *coram Deo*, imploring also His light and assistance: and I am fully convinced, that it contains nothing, but what may be taken with a safe conscience, both by priests and people. The same are the sentiments of my Mr. Talbot and our brother Walton, and of the generality of our clergy, both secular and regular, a great many of whom have taken the oath in our courts of Westminster.

"I remain, honoured dear Sir,

"Ever yours in our Lord,

"RICHARD CHALLONER."

It was only to be expected that here and there Catholics should be found who should, by reason of their Jacobite leanings, scruple to take the oath. On this point Bishop Challoner's own personal action becomes of interest. He had been brought up at Douay as a loyal adherent of the Stuart cause. As a student he had joined in singing the *Te Deum* in the college chapel to celebrate the landing of James III. in Scotland in 1716;[2] and again in 1721 he had assisted as Vice-President at the High Mass of Thanksgiving on the occasion of the birth of Prince Charles Edward.[3] In 1759 he had himself addressed assurances of his personal loyalty to James, and there is no doubt that till the death of that prince he was genuinely Jacobite in sympathy. But he fully recognised that times had changed. The refusal of Pope Clement XIII. and his successors to recognise Charles Edward as a reigning sovereign; the acknowledgment of King George by Catholic Powers; and lastly, the long prescriptive right which the House of Hanover, with the full assent of the nation, had established; were all facts that pointed to one conclusion. Nor was there

[1] Charles Butler's *Historical Memoirs of English Catholics*, 1st edition, ii., 87.
[2] Douay Diary, *Diarium Septimum*, p. 31. [3] *Ibid.*

any alternative. Charles Edward was a physical and moral wreck, with no son to succeed him; while his brother Henry was a cardinal bishop, well advanced in years. The Stuart cause had ceased to be a reality: and George III. must be considered *de jure* as well as *de facto* King of Great Britain and Ireland.

That this was in fact the conclusion to which Dr. Challoner had come, is clear from a letter which he addressed to the Rev. Edward Barrett, who had consulted him upon the point. To him he wrote from London under date 16th September, 1778:—[1]

"SIR,

"As to the Oath of Allegiance enjoined by the late Act of Parliament, to his present Majesty, I shall here give you my sentiments. And, first, I shall premise, that I am fully convinced, that our gracious Sovereign, King George III., is, by the will of God and our established laws, the rightful King of these realms; and consequently, that all our Catholics owe him all honour, subjection, and obedience; according to what the Apostle enjoins, Rom. xiii. 'Let every soul be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God, and *those that be are ordained of God*, therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist purchase to themselves damnation.' Where it is evident that the Apostle requires of all Christians subjection and obedience, to the powers that *now be*, that is, which are now in possession; at least, when this is a quiet possession, and of long standing, as in the case of his present Majesty. Hence there can be no doubt, but that as our Catholics, by the will and ordinance of God, owe this obedience and subjection to his Majesty, they may with a safe conscience, take the

[1] *Catholic Magazine*, 1834, vol. v., p. 432. There is a draft of this letter in the Letter-Book dated the previous day, which shows that the bishop altered his letter a great deal while writing it. It is, however, the same in substance though the draft contains the following final clause, which he omitted in the letter. "But you must be pleased to observe that with regard to the oath prescribed by Parliament, though it requires renouncing allegiance to Charles Stuart, it does not require that you should swear that he has no manner of title, for this you will see by the wording of the oath is only affirmed with regard to the Pope or any other *foreign* Prince; now no one even considers Charles Stuart as a foreign prince" (Letter-Book, pp. 135-36).

Oath *of being faithful and bearing true allegiance to him* etc.—*and hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person* etc.—*or any other claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these Realms;* as the allegiance, which, by the will and ordinance of God, we owe to his Majesty, excludes, of course, all allegiance to any other claimant. And this we see is the sentence of all Christiandom, where all Catholic princes, powers and states acknowledge King George for the only rightful sovereign of these kingdoms, and even three Popes, successively, have refused to acknowledge *Charles* in that quality. So that whatever may have been the notions of some people in the year 1745, the case is now become so clear, that it will admit of no manner of doubt. I shall only add, that with regard to the sentiments of the Saints, with relation to the allegiance due to princes, if we look back into the best monuments of Church History, even from the very times of the Apostles, we shall find that the primitive Christians, in general, and the most zealous pastors of the Church in all former ages, have ever acknowledged and borne allegiance to the princes in possession although some of these acquired the possession by the murder of their predecessors. As to this kingdom in particular, it is evident our ancestors, so far from acknowledging an indefeisible hereditary right, have frequently set aside the next akin, with the concurrence both of Church and State; as we see was done in the case of St. Edward the Confessor.

"I remain, Sir, ever yours in Christ,

"✠ RICHARD CHALLONER.

"LONDON, *Sept.* 16, 1778."

The Catholic Relief Act had passed into law with unexpected ease and rapidity to the astonishment of the Catholics themselves. The King was happy in the assured allegiance of a large body of his subjects in his three kingdoms. The Government were free from a source of danger, and the enlisting of Catholics in the army went on actively in the Highlands and elsewhere. The Church of England as represented by the spiritual peers had acquiesced in the measure. Everything seemed to have gone smoothly forward to a successful conclusion. But the full price had yet to be paid. The Dis-

senters had not been reckoned with, and their deep displeasure had not been taken into account. Yet their resentment was keen, and jealousy of the Papists spread among them in smouldering and suppressed manner. For two long years it only made itself perceived by muttered threatenings, until at length in 1780 it burst into flame, and the No Popery Riots in London, Edinburgh and Bristol led to those mad scenes of bloodshed, incendiarism and rapine in which the cause of Catholic Emancipation received its baptism of fire.

There was yet another price to pay. The Catholic laity of England had for the first time since the Reformation asserted themselves, and acted independently of, even if in tacit agreement with, the clergy. They had been successful: and it was not to be expected that, having once exercised power and influence, they would forego further efforts in that direction. This in itself was well. But it was not well that they should develop the idea of acting independently of the clergy to such an extent as to intervene in spiritual matters, and to come into conflict with the bishops whose charge it is to rule the Church of God. Yet the history of the next twenty-five years showed that the Catholics of England had to pay the price of a long and disedifying struggle between ecclesiastical authority and lay independence. That the controversy finally ended in renewed mutual confidence and good relations was one of the many blessings which God gave to the Church in this land during the succeeding century.

Did Bishop Challoner, meditating on the events of 1778 with the accumulated wisdom of many years, foresee that any such trouble was at hand? It is clear that he did. In a passage in the diary of Bishop Douglass, written nearly twenty years after Challoner's death,[1] there is an account of a scene with which this chapter may fitly close. The account, which refers to the refusal of the Catholic gentlemen to admit Bishop Hay to their meeting, as narrated above, is written by Dr. Douglass on the authority of Rev. John Lindow, who lived with Challoner during his last years:—

"Bishop Hay, dining with Bishop Challoner, told him of the affront he had received from the noblemen as above re-

[1] Under date February, 1798, Westminster Archives.

lated. Bishop Challoner paused, and then spoke of their disregard for their clergy, and that many of them would fall off from their religion. Bishop Hay lamented this, because, as they supported priests and chapels, religion would suffer by their Apostasy. On which the Bishop again paused, then said 'There will be a new people'. This was considered by Bishop Hay as a prediction of what would take place in a few years."

What vision of the future passed before the old man's soul we know not. Only that his prophecy has been in both particulars fulfilled. Some of the old families have fallen from the faith, while the Church, though never forgetting the loyal service of those that are left, no longer rests exclusively on their support.

And there is a new people.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE GATHERING STORM.

1779-1780.

DURING the political riots of 1779, when the London mob rose to sack Admiral Palliser's house and to break windows in the cause of Admiral Keppel, Bishop Challoner and his clergy were assembled in one of their usual weekly conferences. Milner, then a young priest of scarce two years' standing, was present; and he tells how the bishop listened to the tales of riotous violence which the priests, one after another, brought from the different parts of the town, and how he finally cried out with a deep sigh, "Alas! how soon may all this be turned against us".

In the days when his misgivings had been fully justified and all the savagery in London was let loose on his defenceless flock, Bishop Challoner showed something strangely like the gift of prophecy. But at the moment he uttered this exclamation, which so deeply affected the young priest who heard it, it needed small skill in foreseeing the future to anticipate that trouble was at hand.

Since the passing of the Catholic Relief Act in 1778 there had been great ferment in quarters hostile to the Church. That the detested Papists should receive any measure of toleration, or be in any way lightened of their load, was intensely repugnant to the more bigoted Protestant element in the country, especially among the Nonconformists.

Though the Dissenters themselves were still under certain minor disabilities, they were far more hostile to Catholics than the members of the Church of England were; and from conventicle to conventicle throughout the land there spread a deep resentment which could be relied on to blaze out into open fury whenever occasion should be given. That this "No

Popery" movement was sedulously fostered and systematically organised throughout England and Scotland, the formation of the Protestant Association alone proves. For two long years the agitation went on. Sermons were preached, pamphlets were written, newspapers were supplied with inflammatory matter, all to show the danger the country was in, from the insidious growth of Popery.

Nor was the great influence of John Wesley wanting to add fuel to the flame. The pamphlet which he published in defence of the Protestant Association is nothing less than a deliberate attempt to stir up prejudice, and may be cited as a specimen of the literature with which the country was being flooded. In a letter to the press issued from the famous chapel in the City Road on the 12th of January, 1780, he lays down his point of view with uncompromising clearness:—

"I consider not whether the Romish religion be true or false: I build nothing on the one or the other supposition: therefore away with all your common-place declamations about intolerance and persecution for religion! Suppose every word of pope Pius's creed to be true,—suppose the council of Trent to have been infallible,—yet, I insist upon it, that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion."

In his *Defence of the Protestant Association*, he laments the indifference of the public to "the opinion of our brave, wise, circumspect and cautious ancestors that an open toleration of the Popish religion is inconsistent with the safety of a free people and a Protestant Government". "But," he continues, "however unconcerned the present generation may be and unapprehensive of danger from the amazing growth of Popery; how calmly soever they may behold the erection of Popish chapels, hear of Popish schools being opened and see Popish books publicly advertised, they are to be informed that our ancestors, whose wisdom and firmness have transmitted to us those religious and civil liberties which we now enjoy, had very different conceptions of this matter; and had they acted with that coldness, indifference and stupidity, which seems to have seized the present age, we had now been sunk into the most abject state of misery and slavery, under an arbitrary prince and Popish Government." He then draws a lurid

picture of "chains forging at the anvil of Rome for the rising generation" and of the "purple power of Rome advancing by hasty strides to overspread this once happy nation".

All these evils he attributes to the Relief Act which had repealed the statute of William III., for, as he says, "several Protestants being of opinion that this repeal will, in its consequences, act as an open toleration of the Popish religion, they are filled with the most painful apprehensions".

This leads up to the reason which he assigns for the founding of the Association:—

"Inspired with such sentiments, and under the influence of such reasonable and well-grounded fears, they think it a duty which they owe to themselves, their posterity, and their God, to unite as one man, and take every possible loyal and constitutional measure to stop the progress of that soul-deceiving and all-enslaving superstition which threatens to over-spread this land."

Towards the end of the *Defence* he makes direct appeal to prejudice:—

"It is sincerely to be lamented that Protestants in general, are not more apprehensive of the danger. Have they forgot the reign of bloody Queen Mary? Have they forgot the fires in Smithfield, and can they behold the place without emotion where their fathers died? Will it ever be believed in future times, that persons of eminent and distinguished rank among the Protestants, and persons of high and exalted religious characters refuse to petition against Popery; and let it overspread our nation without opposition?"

Language such as that contained in Wesley's *Letter* and *Defence* needs no comment. From Dublin, Father Arthur O'Leary published replies in which he openly accused Wesley of "inflaming the rabble, dividing his Majesty's subjects, propagating black slander and throwing the gauntlet to people who never provoked him".[1] In the same passage he describes the Dissenters generally: "Remark them exposing their parchments in meeting-houses and vestries, begging the signatures of every peasant and mendicant, who comes to hear the Gospel: 'Wrong no man; he that loves his neighbour fulfils

[1] O'Leary's *Tracts*, p. 221.

the law' etc. and those pious souls 'pained and trembling for the ark of God' running with faggot to kindle the flames of sedition, and to oppress their neighbours".

The effects of such language and the popular agitation it aroused were soon illustrated by an object-lesson of striking force. In 1779 riots broke out in Edinburgh and other towns in Scotland, during which a ferocious attack was made on the Catholics. Their houses and property were wantonly destroyed, and they themselves assailed with personal violence. The occasion for this outbreak was the introduction into Parliament of a bill to relieve Scottish Catholics which was similar in character to the English Catholic Relief Act of the previous year. Every means to stir up public feeling was resorted to. Not only were the pulpits busy, but a stream of pamphlets and cartoons issued to poison the public mind, incendiary letters were dropped about in public places, and rumours were circulated threatening measures of violence. The attack began on the 2nd of February, when the chapel-house in Chalmer's Close was plundered, wrecked and finally burnt down. The provost and magistrates did nothing, and the rioters were left to wreak their vengeance on Catholic houses. In the midst of these scenes of destruction, Bishop Hay arrived from London, knowing nothing of what was going forward. Meeting large crowds as he was making his way to his house, he inquired of a woman what it all meant. In reply he was told: "Oh, sir, we are burning the Popish chapel, and we only wish we had the bishop to throw into the fire". Thus warned, he made his escape. The riots only ceased when the provost issued a proclamation to the effect that the Catholic Relief Bill had been withdrawn.

With the knowledge of these events fresh in their memory, the English Government should from the first have realised the dangerous character of the Protestant Association. If further evidence had been needed, it might have been found in the proceedings of the annual meeting of the General Assembly in Scotland, at which the only subject debated was the manner of expressing the protest of the Assembly against any attempt to repeal the penal laws. All the speakers were unanimous on the necessity of preventing the Repeal, but one speech in particular reveals the spirit in which the Protestant Association

was carrying on its campaign. It was the address of Principal Robertson, the historian of Scotland and of Charles V., who was known to be favourable to the Relief Bill, though he now proclaimed that in view of the public feeling it had become inexpedient. Distinguished Scotsman as he was, the Principal had been treated in a way best described in his own words:—

"My character as a man, as a citizen, and as a Minister of the Gospel, has been delineated in the most odious colours. I have been represented as a pensioner of the Pope, as an agent for Rome, as a seducer of my brethren to Popery, as the tool of a King and a Ministry bent on overturning the Protestant Religion. In pamphlets, in newspapers and handbills I have been held out to an enraged Mob, as the victim who deserved to be next sacrificed, after they had satiated their vengeance on a Popish Bishop. My family has been disquieted; my house has been attacked; I have been threatened with pistols and daggers; I have been warned that I was watched in my going out and coming home; the time has been set, beyond which I was not to live; and for several weeks, hardly a day passed on which I did not receive Incendiary Letters. . . . My repose, thank God, was not disturbed. I was conscious of no crime, and I dreaded no danger. I continued in my usual habits of life. I went about as usual; and last night was the first time my family heard of the threats which had been denounced against me. One circumstance, however, afflicted me and filled me with horror. Several of the Incendiary Letters which I received were signed by 'Lovers of Truth'; 'Friends to the Protestant Religion'. It was in the name of Jesus I was warned that my death was resolved and the instruments for cutting short my days prepared. May God forgive the men who have disseminated among the pious and well-intentioned people of this country, such principles as led them to imagine that assassination could be acceptable to God, and have prompted them to point a dagger to the breast of a fellow Christian in the name of our merciful Saviour."[1]

If such was the treatment meted out to a distinguished minister and writer, the head of the University of Edinburgh and a scholar of European reputation, what mercy could the

[1] *Scots Magazine*, 1779, pp. 409-15.

Catholics themselves expect? The Scottish Protestant Association had translated its principles into acts, and the English Catholics, hearing of the scenes of violence, arson and plunder in Edinburgh, and the attempts made less successfully in Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Peebles and Perth, knew what they themselves might expect as a result of the formation of a similar association in England. Bishop Hay's pastoral letter giving an account of the riots was read by English Catholics, not only with sympathy for their Scottish brethren, but with apprehension for themselves. As Wilkes said in Parliament, "The mob of Edinburgh has set a fatal example to that of London".

In fact the Scottish fanatics were doing their utmost, not by example alone, but by direct incitement and vigorous counsel to stir up similar disturbances in England; and it was to their "Committee of Protestant Interests" that the formation of the Protestant Association was due.

The early history of the Protestant Association is obscure, for at first it worked in secret. But it probably took its rise about the time the Catholic Relief Act was passed in 1778. At least, it is certain that before the Edinburgh riots of February, 1779, the Scottish "Committee of Protestant Interests" had resolved "to come to the aid of their brethren in England," and they were in regular correspondence with some of the London fanatics. As early as that same month of February, there had been a meeting of a few persons at Coachmakers' Hall, Foster Lane, Cheapside. After that, quarterly meetings were held, and so the association gradually developed.[1]

The person who appears to have taken the lead was the Rev. Daniel Wilson, a name long familiar among the Low Church party. He was assisted throughout by one, Joshua Bangs, who acted as secretary.

Systematic plans of attack were made and carried out. The association was not put before the public until its way had been carefully prepared before it. The first step taken was to arouse feelings of alarm and uneasiness throughout the country. With the view to terrifying the people at the dangerous encroachments of Popery, all kinds of means were employed. The crusade was preached both in sermons and in pamphlets;

[1] Evidence of the Rev. Erasmus Middleton at Lord George Gordon's trial, p. 87.

ballads were composed and sung in the streets, and alarmist paragraphs were inserted in the newspapers. King and Parliament were abused for having passed an act which was described as the prelude to the overthrow of Protestantism. The more educated classes were assailed with reasoned arguments urging danger to the Constitution, to Civil Liberty and to the Protestant Succession; while in the case of the uneducated masses, the lowest measures were resorted to. The fears of the ignorant were worked upon by terrifying pictures of the danger they were in from the Papists. The power of France was represented as ever looming in the background, and blood-curdling descriptions of the horrors of Catholic government were circulated. No absurdity was too gross to be invented and believed. Twenty thousand Jesuits were said to be hidden on the Surrey side of the river, ready at a given signal to blow up the banks and bed of the Thames, so as to drown London; the king and his ministers were to be assassinated; there was, in fact, no limit to the malicious calumnies by which appeal was made to the lowest passions of the mob. In the slaughter-houses of Newgate and Smithfields; in the sailors' quarter of Wapping; in the taverns and ale-houses and places of even worse repute throughout London and Westminster, the bugbear of Popish invasion was paraded in all its horrors. The debating-clubs of the city apprentices rang with denunciations of Popery. The very walls were covered with placards, and roughly chalked inscriptions in the same sense.

At length when public feeling seemed sufficiently aroused, the association issued its *Appeal from the Protestant Association to the People of Great Britain*, by which it emerged into public notice.[1] This was published, appropriately enough, on Guy Fawkes Day. The object of this appeal as Edmund Burke declared was "to excite a general odium against the Catholics so as to cause the repeal of the most just Act ever passed". In the most direct way it clamoured for the repeal of the Relief Act and for the enactment of new penal laws:—

"To tolerate Popery is to be instrumental to the perdition of immortal souls now existing, and of millions of spirits, that at

[1] *An Appeal from the Protestant Association to the People of Great Britain; concerning the probable tendency of the late Act of Parliament in favour of the Papists.* London, printed by J. W. Pasham, Blackfriars, 1779.

present have no existence but in the prescience of God; and is the direct way to provoke the vengeance of an holy and just God, to bring down destruction on our fleets and armies, and ruin on ourselves and our posterity."[1]

After nearly sixty pages devoted to denunciation of Catholics and gloomy pictures of the horrors that they would inflict upon Protestants unless checked, the appeal comes to business in the last few paragraphs:—[2]

"Having pointed out the fatal consequences of the late Act of Parliament; to remedy the evils, let the Protestants, throughout the kingdom, associate as one man, and apply to Government for redress: . . . Our constitution hath marked out the mode of obtaining redress; and declares, that it is the right of the subject to petition. Let petitions be circulated through the kingdom; let the clergy of the establishment and Protestant ministers of every denomination, and all who are zealous for the welfare and safety of the Protestant religion, cordially unite, and strenuously exert themselves on this important occasion.

"Let petitions against the Popish Bill be sent to Parliament with numerous signatures from every county, city and corporation; and from other respectable bodies of people. Let our representatives be instructed by their constituents, to support these petitions in the House; and as the eve of a general election is approaching, we have reason to hope that these instructions will be attended to. Should they be neglected we soon shall have an opportunity in our hands of electing members more attentive to the voice of the people and the preservation of the Protestant interest.

"If such measures be adopted by Protestants with unanimity, and prosecuted with spirit, government may then with safety relieve us from our fears by repealing the late Act; and have nothing to dread from the resentment of the Papists."

So skilfully had public apprehension been aroused that the success of this appeal was immediate and thorough. Men of all ranks hastened to enrol themselves in the Protestant Association. Branches were formed all over England, and money poured into the treasury. At length, matters were so far ad-

[1] *Appeal*, p. 18. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

vanced that the chief manager, Mr. Wilson, was able to insert an announcement in the newspapers to the effect that the Protestant Association was now ready to act against "the enemies of God," and that a general meeting of the committee would be held in December to transact important business and to elect "a suitable President".

Whatever business the meeting transacted, none could have been more pregnant with consequences than the election they made of their "suitable President,"—an election communicated to the press in the following paragraph:—

"At a general assembly of the members of the Committee of the Protestant Association, it was unanimously resolved that on account of the noble zeal for the Protestant interests which has distinguished the public conduct of Lord George Gordon, his Lordship shall be requested to accept the position of President of our Association." [1]

Nothing is more indicative of the real significance of the association than the choice of this strange fantastic figure as leader and chief. Not only the part he played in the "No Popery" Agitation, but the erratic adventures and visionary schemes of his whole after-career show that the extravagances of this unhappy fanatic were due to a disordered brain. At the time when he accepted the presidency of the Protestant Association, he was a man of twenty-nine, already noted for his eccentricities. He is described as tall and spare, with long red hair falling lank and straight upon his shoulders. His high cheek-bones and sallow complexion gave him a touch of the Oriental. His dress was sometimes severely plain, sometimes bizarre. He would often wear the ordinary dress of an English gentleman, and then suddenly appear in a black velvet coat and trousers of red tartan plaid, a costume especially remarkable when knee-breeches were always worn.

His career had already been chequered. As the third son of the Duke of Gordon, there had been no difficulty in obtaining for him a commission, and he had been gazetted as ensign while still a child in frocks. But on reaching boyhood he preferred the navy, and served as midshipman, and afterwards as

[1] The letter inviting Lord George to become president was dated Nov. 12, 1779. It is given in full, together with his answer, in Watson's *Life of Lord George Gordon*, 1795, pp. 12-17.

lieutenant, on the American station. He resigned his commission finally because the Admiralty would not promise him a ship. He then turned his attention to politics, and determined to contest Inverness-shire. Speaking of his political methods, his friend and biographer, Dr. Watson, says:—[1]

"He visited every part of the County and particularly the Isles. He played on the bag-pipes and violin to those who loved music. He spoke Gaelic, and wore the tartan-plaid and fillibeg in places where they were national. He made love to the young ladies, and listened with the utmost patience while the old gave him an account of their clans, and to crown his success he gave the Gentry a ball at Inverness, to which he not only invited, but actually brought, the young and the old from every part of the County. For this purpose he hired a ship and brought from the Isle of Skye the beautiful family of the Macleods consisting of fifteen young ladies, who are the pride and admiration of the North."

At the same time he commended himself to the Presbyterians of the constituency by his zeal against Popery. At length he made such progress that the sitting member, General Fraser, grew alarmed for the safety of his seat, and thought it good policy to present Lord George with the pocket-borough of Ludgershall in Wiltshire, thus ridding himself of a troublesome competitor.

Accordingly Lord George Gordon entered the House of Commons, as one of the two members for that constituency, in 1774, being then twenty-three years of age. He refused to support either the Ministry or the Opposition, and was humorously referred to as the Third Party in the State. Though he himself was much in earnest, the House refused to take him seriously, and his eccentric, desultory speeches were merely laughed at.[2] He frequently interrupted the business of the House in order to introduce irrelevant matter of discussion, or to take divisions upon questions on which he stood nearly, if not quite, alone. He affected the part of a prophet, warning the nation of the evils likely to come upon it, and he constantly burst in upon debates with "No Popery" harangues.

[1] *Life of Lord George Gordon*, pp. 4-5.

[2] In the *Annual Register* for 1780 his conduct in Parliament is described in some detail.



Lord GEORGE GORDON,

President of the Protestant Association &c.

A. Southwark Division.
B. London Division.
C. Westminster Division.
D. Scotch Division.

London Published as the Act directs June 1, 1780 by John Harris Bookseller Ailey Cornhill — Price 1'

A contemporary[1] referring to his tall and meagre figure, his straight hair and plain dress, remarks: "He has the manners and air of a modern Puritan".

But his manners were more Puritan than his morals. Horace Walpole, having referred to him as a "mad dog," adds, "Nor yet is he so lunatic as to deserve pity. Besides being very debauched, he has more knavery than mission,"[2] an account which is supported by the testimony of others, including the virtuous Mrs. Hannah More. In the excitement of public action, especially during the actual disturbances, he seemed to lose all sense of responsibility, and to be capable of urging any crime. A day or two before his last quoted letter, Walpole, writing about the Riots to his friend Mason, said: "Nothing ever surpassed the abominable behaviour of the ruffian apostle that preached up this storm. . . . The frantic incendiary ran backwards and forwards, naming names for slaughter to the mob; fortunately his disciples were not experts at assassination, and nobody was murdered for the Gospel's sake."

Allowing something for the light-hearted exaggeration which Walpole habitually allowed himself, we have here the judgment of one, who was not only a shrewd man of the world, but who had himself been opposed to the Catholic Relief Act, and could write: "I always, you know well, disliked and condemned the repeal of the Popish Statutes, and am steadfast in that opinion".

On the whole it is clear that though the House of Commons regarded Lord George Gordon merely as a subject for good-humoured ridicule, his unmeasured fanaticism and moral recklessness made him a dangerous person; and when once he was at the head of a large association of ignorant and prejudiced men he became a source of public danger. He was just the man to arouse angry passions, the consequences of which he was too irresponsible to calculate, and to stir up a tumult which he had not the power to guide or restrain; and although it was at his instigation that the Gordon Riots were begun,

[1] Thomas Holcroft in the *Plain and Succinct Narrative of the Late Riots*, 1780, published under the name of William Vincent, p. 11.

[2] Letter to Sir Horace Mann, June 5th, 1780, Cunningham's ed., 1858, vii., 382.

they were carried on by a coalition of all the forces of disorder; and when that occurred, Lord George Gordon, like a new Frankenstein, could not control the monster which he had called into being.

He was, as we have seen, expressly called upon to head the "No Popery" agitation in England because of his previous success in Scotland. It was his boast that he was the accepted leader of a large and enthusiastic following there; and he was fond of telling the House of Commons that he was at the head of 120,000 able men in Scotland who would quickly remedy their own grievances if these were not otherwise redressed. In the House of Commons his wild ravings excited nothing but pity or amusement, but on the uneducated crowds he produced a great effect. His harsh loud voice, vehement manner and fanatical earnestness roused their enthusiasm, which in turn reacted on him, until he was carried beyond himself with the sense of his own power.

The *Annual Register* for 1780 records under date of 4th January his first serious constitutional effort for the repeal of the Relief Act. This took the form of a deputation from the Protestant Association to the Prime Minister, Lord North, "to request his lordship to present a petition from that society to Parliament, and to support the same, against a law which has already received the royal assent, for the relief of his majesty's Popish subjects in certain cases; which his lordship absolutely refused".

Not daunted by this rebuff, Lord George determined to approach the king himself. He went armed with a long Irish Protestant pamphlet. The rest of the story is told by Horace Walpole in a letter to the Countess of Ossory:—[1]

"Lord George Gordon asked an audience, was admitted, and incontinently began reading his Irish pamphlet, and the King had the patience to hear him do so for above an hour, till it was so dark that the lecturer could not see. His Majesty then desired to be excused, and said he would finish the piece himself. 'Well!' said the lunatic apostle, 'but you must give me your honour that you will read it out.' The King promised, but was forced to pledge his honour."

[1] Jan. 29, 1780, Cunningham's edition, 1858, vii., 319.

But though the king was thus compelled by his word to read the entire production, it seems to have had no effect on him. Therefore Lord George next busied himself in the preparation of the petition which the prime minister had so summarily refused to present, and which the president of the association now decided on himself introducing.

This petition was to be on a gigantic scale, and was to contain the signatures or marks of the many thousands of persons who had formed the association. Day by day he harangued meetings on this subject, handbills were distributed in the streets, and advertisements appeared on the walls and in the newspapers. He himself told the House of Commons what members might expect. Charles Butler recalls how, one day, a member, who was presenting a petition, trailed it out along the floor so as to exhibit the number of signatures. "Pooh!" Lord George Gordon exclaimed, "what is all this? With a great deal of pulling, the petition seems to extend from your chair, Mr. Speaker, to the door of the House. In a few days, Sir, I shall present you the petition of the Protestant Association. It will extend, Sir, from your chair to a window at Whitehall that Kings should often think of."

About this time Lord Petre seems to have made an effort to dissuade Lord George Gordon from taking an active part in the Protestant Association. Dr. Watson in his *Life of Lord George Gordon*[1] states that Lord Petre represented to him that the petitioners were unimportant people; that it was only on account of their president that they had become of any consequence; and that if he would withdraw they would soon dwindle away. He told him that Catholics were anxious for him to be better informed, and that it had been determined at a late consultation in Paris that they were safe in taking the new oath of allegiance. Finally he begged him, if he would not withdraw from the association, at least to use his influence to postpone presenting the petitions, and not to move for a repeal of the bill for five years;—and then, at that period, to move for a repeal, provided he thought they had made an improper use of it.

Lord George, however, turned a deaf ear to this persuasion,

[1] Pp. 17-18.

and preferred to remain president of the Protestant Association, though by so doing he lost the friendship of Edmund Burke. On the 9th of May he issued an advertisement giving notice that another general meeting of Protestants would be held before the presentation of the petition, and desiring "all true friends of Great Britain and of civil and religious liberty" to join in signing it.[1] Meanwhile other petitions from England, Wales and Scotland were presented first, so that the monster petition of London might form an effective conclusion to the series.

This general meeting was held at Coachmakers' Hall, Long Acre, on Tuesday, the 29th of May, on which occasion Lord George Gordon delivered a harangue which, as the *Annual Register* remarked, "might well have excited the most instant attention and alarm". He declared that the Relief Bill had been carried so rapidly that there was no time in which to oppose it, or even to realise its consequences. Having stated that indulgence to Catholics was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, endangered the succession of the House of Hanover, and threatened the country with destruction, he broke through all limits, and urged the crowded audience to leave words for deeds. "I wish so well to the cause," he burst out, "that I will go to the gallows in it and for it, but I will not present the petition of a lukewarm people. The only way is to go in a bold manner, and show we are resolved to defend Protestantism with our lives. If you mean to spend your time in idle debate you had better at once choose another leader. I am ready for all, but I am not a man to do things by halves. There is no danger you go into that I will not share; and, remember, the Scotch carried their point by their firmness."

This declaration was greeted with the loudest applause, and a resolution was forthwith carried that "the whole body of the Protestant Association do attend at St. George's Fields on Friday next, at ten o'clock, to accompany Lord George Gordon to the House of Commons on the deliverance of the Protestant petition". To this his lordship flung the reply that, unless he were attended by more than 20,000 men, he would refuse to present the petition.

[1] *Fanaticism and Treason*, p. 30.

The next day, the following advertisement was published in the name of the association.[1]

"PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

"Whereas no Hall in London can contain *forty thousand men.*

"Resolved, that this Association do meet on Friday next in St. George's Fields, at ten o'clock in the morning, to consider of the most prudent and respectful manner of attending their Petition, which will be presented the same day to the House of Commons.

"Resolved, for the sake of good order and regularity, that this Association, on coming to the ground, do separate themselves into four distinct divisions, *viz.* the London division, the Westminster division, the Southwark division, and the Scotch division.

"Resolved, that the London division do take place upon the right of the ground towards Southwark, the Westminster division second, the Southwark division third, and the Scotch division upon the left, all wearing Blue Cockades in their hats, to distinguish themselves from the Papists, and those who approve of the late Act in favour of Popery.

"Resolved, that the Magistrates of London, Westminster, and Southwark are requested to attend, that their presence may overawe and controul any riotous or evilminded persons who may wish to disturb the legal and peaceable deportment of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects.

"By Order of the Association,

"G. GORDON, *President.*"

In this way all was arranged. The Government, though in possession of this public warning, took no measures whatever. The French Ambassador is credited with the remark that, if no steps were taken, London might within nine days be reduced to ashes; and subsequently the Opposition made political capital out of the inaction of the Ministry.

[1] *Political Magazine*, June-July, 1780, p. 415.

Catholics could only watch the progress of events with apprehension and anxiety, and pray that their newly gained liberty might not be taken from them by a repeal of their Act. Yet within a few hours such horrors were to be perpetrated that they were willing to be once more under the old burden, and to submit themselves to re-enactment of all the severities of the penal code, if only they might have been allowed to re-gain their former obscure safety.

Meanwhile Bishop Challoner had hourly cause to sigh out his fear; "Alas! how soon all this may be turned against us"

Note to Chapter XXXII.

Sources of information as to the events in this and in the following chapter are so numerous that it would be difficult to set them out in detail. The chief works consulted have been the newspapers and magazines of the time, contemporary pamphlets, and the reports of Lord George Gordon's trial. Of the first class, the most useful have been the *Morning Post* for 1780, the *Annual Register*, *Scots Magazine* and *Political Magazine* for the same year. Three pamphlets published immediately after the riots are of special value:—

(i.) *A Plain and Succinct Narrative of the late Riots and Disturbances in the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark.* By William Vincent, of Gray's Inn, London: Printed for Fielding and Walker, Paternoster Row, 1780. The real author of this was Thomas Holcroft, the dramatist.

(ii.) *A Narrative of the Proceedings of Lord George Gordon and the Persons assembled under the denomination of the Protestant Association, from their last meeting at Coachmakers' Hall to the final commitment of his Lordship to the Tower.* London: Printed for J. Wallis at Yorick's Head, Ludgate Street, 1780.

(iii.) *Fanaticism and Treason: or a Dispassionate History of the Rise, Progress and Suppression of the Rebellious Insurrections in June, 1780.* By a Real Friend to Religion and to Britain. London: Printed for G. Kearsley, 46 Fleet Street, 1780.

Of the trial several reports were published. Those here drawn upon were:—

(i.) State Trials.

(ii.) *The Trial of the Hon. George Gordon, commonly called Lord George Gordon, for High Treason. Taken in shorthand by William Vincent, Esq. of Gray's Inn* (*vere* Thomas Holcroft). London: Fielding and Walker, 1781.

(iii.) *The Trial of Lord George Gordon for High Treason. Published under the inspection of his Lordship's friends.* Edinburgh: Mennons & Co., 1781.

For the life of Lord George Gordon, the work of his intimate friend, Dr. Watson, is useful: *The History of the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon to which is added several of his speeches in Parliament and his most remarkable letters to the Eighty-five Societies in Glasgow.* Edinburgh: James Murray, 1780.

Of purely Catholic sources, I am most indebted to the MSS. diary of William Mawhood, kindly placed at my disposal by the present representative of the family, Mr. John B. Corney. There is scarcely anything in the Diocesan Archives, nor do Challoner's early biographers add much. Barnard quotes from the *Political Magazine*, and neither Dr. Milner nor Charles Butler gives a detailed account; while the latter, even in his *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish and Scottish Catholics*, contents himself with quoting the *Annual Register*.

All contemporary memoirs and letters abound in allusions to the Riots; and of these, Horace Walpole's letters have in these pages been most largely drawn upon.

Of more recent writers, it would be useless here to speak, as they all depend in greater or less degree upon the contemporary sources, but it may be noted that Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge* has told the story of the riots with remarkable fidelity to the historical records, almost the only case in which he has departed from fact being that of Dennis the hangman, who was not hanged as described so powerfully in the novel, but was reprieved.

All efforts to trace the MS. collection "Particulars of the Distresses of some of the Roman Catholics who suffered by the late Riots," formerly belonging to Canon Tierney, have failed; but some of the information contained therein was used by the Rev. E. Price in his articles on the Gordon Riots in

Dolman's Magazine, vol. vi. (1847), and the series of articles in the *Catholic Magazine*, vol. ii. (1832), embodies several documents which seem to have formed part of this collection. Unfortunately the contemporary diaries of Father O'Leary and of Charles Butler, quoted by Mr. Price, seem also to have disappeared.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE GORDON RIOTS.

1780.

THE eventful morning of Friday, 2nd June, 1780, opened in brilliant sunshine, and, as the day wore on, it grew intensely hot. Three days previously, Lord George Gordon had given notice to the House of Commons that he would on that day present the London petition of the Protestant Association, and all the world knew that he would come to the House accompanied by many thousands of his followers. Yet the Government made no sign.

The day before, the subject had been mentioned at the Cabinet Council—with little enough effect. "Have you faith enough in me to believe," wrote Horace Walpole to his friend Mann, "that the sole precaution taken was, that the Cabinet Council on Thursday empowered the First Lord of the Treasury to give proper orders to the civil magistrates to keep the peace, —and his Lordship forgot it!"[1]

Catholics, though they naturally watched the proceedings with anxiety, do not seem to have been apprehensive of an immediate outbreak against themselves. It does not appear that any precautions were taken by them. Probably their chief fear was that Parliament might be intimidated into repealing the Relief Act.

By ten o'clock a vast concourse of enthusiastic Protestants had assembled at St. George's Fields, all displaying the blue cockade. There is no reliable estimate as to the numbers. Contemporary accounts speak of 20,000, 50,000, even 100,000 men; while on the other hand Walpole states that the procession as finally formed did not exceed 13,000. But besides the

[1] June 5, 1780 (vii., 380). All references to Walpole's letters in this chapter are to Cunningham's edition, 8 vols., London, Richard Bentley, 1858.

demonstrating Protestants great masses of onlookers were assembled.

The bright weather added to the high spirits and excitement of the growing crowds. Various detachments of the association marched up with banners flying, bands playing and blue ribands fluttering everywhere. According to the arrangements already announced, the demonstration was marshalled in four groups, representing London, Westminster, Southwark and Scotland. While assembling, they whiled away the time by singing hymns.

About eleven o'clock the skirl of the bag-pipes announced the arrival of Lord George Gordon himself, who drove on to the ground accompanied by some ministers—amid scenes of enthusiasm. Proceedings were opened by a short address followed by a long prayer. In the address final instructions were given. In order that the City might be duly impressed, the men of one division marching six abreast were ordered to proceed round by London Bridge, and back to Westminster by Fleet Street, Temple Bar and the Strand; the second division was to go by Blackfriars; while the third division was to make its way directly over Westminster Bridge. This third division was headed by Lord George's coach, and by a man bearing on his head the immense roll of parchment on which the petition and the signatures thereto were inscribed. It was so large that the bearer could but just move beneath its weight. The procession, which was headed by the pipers, was orderly enough, but the people who went before to clear the way had, according to the *Political Magazine*, "the true aspect of abandoned vagabonds".

The procession began to move in these three detachments about noon, and it was half-past two before they again united, meeting before the Houses of Parliament. An enormous cheer announced that all were assembled. They immediately took possession of all approaches to both Houses, and there began to intercept members on their arrival, forcing them to assume the blue cockade, and to call out "No Popery". In some instances members were compelled to take an oath for the immediate repeal of the Catholic Relief Act. From these beginnings they rapidly passed to worse, and apparently this was according to a pre-arranged system, for, when the coaches of various peers arrived, blue flags were waved from the tops

of houses at Whitehall as signals to the people whom to applaud and whom to assail.

The Archbishop of York was the first to be attacked. As his coach drove down Parliament Street he was greeted with a storm of hooting, groans and hisses. When he dismounted at the doors of the House, he was seized and compelled to cry "No Popery, No Popery,"—which he did "in a pitiable and enfeebled voice". But, notwithstanding his compliance, his lawn sleeves were torn off and thrown in his face, before he was able to effect his escape into the House. Looking out from a window, he subsequently saw that Lord Mansfield was in the hands of the mob, whereon he pluckily rushed back into the crowd and succeeded in helping the Chief Justice to reach safety. The great judge, who was specially unpopular, owing to his action in directing juries to acquit Catholic priests, had had the glasses of his carriage broken and the panels staved in; and he was in serious danger when the Archbishop came to his rescue. In the absence of Lord Thurlow through illness it was his duty to take the Lord Chancellor's place, but when he reached the Woolsack he was still "quivering like an aspen".

Lord Bathurst, the President of the Council, was next set upon, hustled about and kicked violently. He stood up to the mob with courage, only to have his wig dragged off and to be jeered at as "the Pope" and an "old woman". The Duke of Northumberland drove up with his secretary, who being dressed in black was taken to be a Jesuit, whereupon the duke was dragged from his coach, rolled on the ground and robbed of his watch. Lord Ashburnham was likewise torn out of his chariot and treated with the utmost indignity; while Lords Townshend and Hillsborough, who arrived together, were insulted and the bags pulled from their hair, so that they reached the House with their hair hanging loose on their shoulders. By this time the mob began to wreck the carriages. Lord Stormont saw his coach hacked to pieces, while he himself remained in the hands of the rabble for half an hour, during which time they pelted him with mud and took other insolent liberties with him, until he was rescued by a gentleman who persuaded them to desist.

The coaches of Sir George Savile and Mr. Charles Turner were also demolished. Lord Trentham's carriage escaped with

broken glasses only, but the Bishop of Lincoln, who was the Lord Chancellor's brother, had the wheels of his coach torn off, and he himself with great difficulty escaped to the house of Mr. Atkinson an attorney. Here he disguised himself in other clothes, and escaped over the leads of the neighbouring houses. After this, the Bishop of Lichfield was fortunate in reaching the House with nothing worse than a torn gown. Lord Willoughby de Broke, Lord St. John and Lord Dudley all received personal injuries; and Mr. Welbore Ellis, being mistaken for a Catholic gentleman, was chased and finally took refuge in—or according to one account was forcibly dragged to—the Guildhall at Westminster, whence he ultimately escaped by means of a ladder.

While the crowds in the street thus rapidly passed from disorder to violence, the scene within the House was one of agitation and amazement. In the House of Lords the business before the peers was a motion by the Duke of Richmond in favour of annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. While the duke was yet speaking, Lord Montfort rushed in breathless to announce that Lord Boston was being trampled to death by the mob. By this time the crowd had occupied all the entrances of the House, and were only prevented from entering the House of Lords itself by the exertions of Sir Francis Molineux and the door-keepers, assisted by the justices and a few constables. Lord Radnor proposed that the peers in a body should go to his rescue with drawn swords, others wanted to send for the Guards, others for the magistrates. In the midst of the confusion Lord Boston staggered in, covered with blood and with his clothes torn to shreds. The mob had threatened to cut the sign of the Cross upon his forehead, and he had only escaped by managing to draw the leaders into a quarrel as to whether the Pope was Anti-Christ or not. During the subsequent confusion he managed to get away.

Angry debate then ensued among the peers, Lord Shelburne and other Opposition lords charging the Ministers with being the cause of all the trouble, partly owing to their concessions to the Scottish rioters the previous year, and partly because they had taken no precautions with regard to that day's proceedings, though they had been duly warned. To this Lord Hillsborough, with dishevelled hair and disordered

dress, replied that the Privy Council had on the previous day issued orders for the attendance of the magistrates. Two of the Middlesex magistrates being at hand, they were sent for, but stated that they had not received any such orders.

Within the House of Commons there was similar confusion. Proceedings were carried on to an accompaniment of hoarse shouts and angry outbursts from the crowds without, while some of the mob burst into the precincts of the House and filled the lobby, thus practically imprisoning the members in the chamber itself. Twice during the afternoon and evening attempts were made to force the doors.

It is very difficult to gather anything like a connected narrative of the course of events. The *Morning Post* for the 3rd of June, 1780, reports that "the repeated shouts of the mob were so loud that it was impossible for the House to proceed to any business". The *Journals of the House of Commons* record in dry official style how "the House being informed that a large and tumultuous crowd had filled the Lobby and Passages leading to the House, a Motion was made and the question was proposed: that the Magistrates of the City and Liberty of Westminster do forthwith attend the House". When the petition had been introduced and the question put: "That this House do now resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the said petition," the Journals continue: "The House divided. The Yeas were directed to go forth. But the Yeas not being able to go forth on account of the tumultuous crowd in the Lobby: And the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House having informed the House that it was not in his power to clear the Lobby; Mr. Speaker directed him to send for the Sheriff and other Magistrates of the county of Middlesex and City of Westminster to attend the House immediately."

During the debate, Lord George Gordon ran backwards and forwards between his place in the House and the top of the gallery stairs, whence he was able to harangue the crowd below, and inform them of the progress of the debate. At one time he called out: "The Speaker of the House has just declared that you are here under the pretence of religion, but you are a good people and have a good cause. Mr. Rous has just moved that the civil power be sent for; but don't you

mind, keep yourselves cool and be steady."[1] Again he shouted: "There is Mr. Burke, the Member for Bristol, speaking against you," and shortly afterwards: "Do you know that Lord North calls you a mob".[2]

Exasperated by these incitements, the mob began to kick and hammer on the doors of the House. Sir Michael le Fleming went up to induce Lord George to desist, whereupon Lord George called out to the people: "This is Sir Michael le Fleming and he has just spoken for you like an Angel; but as for Mr. Burke I am sorry for him".[3]

The Rev. Thomas Bowen, who was acting as assistant to the chaplain of the House of Commons, and whose conduct throughout the disturbances was both brave and wise, then addressed the mob but without effect, and he was equally unsuccessful when he begged Lord George to dismiss his followers. Lord George, indeed, continued to speak to the people but it was in ominous terms. He told them that it was proposed to take their petition into consideration on the following Tuesday, but that he did not like delays; and he added later that he saw little reason to hope redress from the decisions of Parliament. From these statements he proceeded to more dangerous incentives to mischief: "You have been called a mob, and peace officers have been sent for to disperse you; some have mentioned calling out the military, but I hope nobody will think of taking that step, as it would infallibly tend to create division. The alarm has gone forth for many miles around the city. You have got a very good Prince, who as soon as he shall hear the alarm has seized such a number of men, will no doubt send down private orders to his Ministers to enforce the prayer of your petition." A voice from the mob cried out, "Do you wish us to go, Geordie?" To which he replied:—

"You are the best judges of what you ought to do; but I will tell you how the matter stands. The House is going to divide upon the question whether your petition shall be taken into consideration to-day or on Tuesday next. There are for taking it now only myself and six others; but if it is not heard at present, it may be lost, for to-morrow the House does not

[1] Evidence of Rev. Thomas Bowen, p. 39.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[3] *Ibid.*, Evidence of Joseph Pearson, p. 45.

meet, Monday will be the King's birthday, and on Tuesday the Parliament may be dissolved; so I leave it to you whether you should go away. You may stay or do as you please, but in Scotland they did not mince matters. Would you not wish to be in the same state as they are in Scotland? or would you have your petition considered now? We are very much opposed; but I do not like delays. A repeal! A repeal! No Popery!" [1]

This direct goading of the crowd into intimidating the House to consider the petition at once, was too much for some of the members. General Conway came up to Lord George and said: "My Lord, I am a military man, and I shall think it my duty to protect the freedom of debate in this House by my sword; you see, my Lord, the members of this House are this day all in arms. Do not imagine that we will be overpowered or intimidated by rude, undisciplined, unprincipled rabble. There is only one entry into the House of Commons, and that is a narrow one. Reflect that men of honour may defend this pass and that certainly many lives will be lost before we will suffer ourselves to be overawed by your adherents. I wish, in one word, my Lord, to know whether it is your intention to bring those men, whose wild uproar now strikes our ears, within the walls of this House?" [2]

The same question was put by Colonel Gordon, a near relative of Lord George, who bluntly said: "My Lord George, do you intend to bring your rascally adherents into the House of Commons? If you do, the first man of them that enters, I will plunge my sword not into his, but into your body." Somewhat daunted by this show of determination, Lord George returned to the top of the stairs and desired the crowd to be quiet and to trust in the goodness of their cause and the king's justice. But while he was speaking, General Grant came behind him and endeavoured to draw him back to the House, saying: "O Lord George, Lord George! for God's sake, Lord George, do not lead these poor people into any danger". Whereupon Lord George, addressing the people, continued: "You see in this effort to persuade me from my duty before

[1] This speech was a point of much importance in his subsequent trial.—Evidence of John Anstruther and Rev. Thomas Bowen, *Trial*, pp. 38, 41.

[2] According to some accounts the last sentence of this speech was uttered by Mr. Ellis.

your eyes, an instance of the difficulties I have to encounter with, from such wise men of this world as my honourable friend behind my back".

However, he returned to the House where he was detained by Colonel Holroyd, who followed him next time he endeavoured to go to the gallery, and said: "My Lord, at first I thought you were only mad; and was going to move that you might be sent to Bedlam; now I see there is much more malice than madness in this business. If you go out once more to the mob, I assure you upon the faith of Parliament I will instantly move that you be committed to the Tower." [1]

Finally the chaplain induced him to retire to the dining-room where he fell asleep, and in his absence the mob in the lobbies became quiet. Alderman Sawbridge with other gentlemen then endeavoured to induce them to withdraw, so that a division might be possible. Lord Mahon, who being a candidate for Westminster was well known by sight to many of the crowd in the streets, succeeded not only in gaining a hearing, but in persuading many of them to depart. This so far cleared the space outside the House, that about eight o'clock the Lords were able to conclude their sitting and to get away without harm. But the House of Commons remained closely besieged. Several other gentlemen addressed the crowds from the balconies of neighbouring houses, telling them that the Guards had been sent for, and begging them to disperse. But all was without avail. The rioters in the lobbies refused to stir, so that the members remained imprisoned in the House. General Conway and Lord Frederick Cavendish afterwards told Walpole that there was a moment when they thought they must have opened the doors and fought their way out sword in hand.

Lord North, the Prime Minister, who had been so dilatory before, now showed great firmness. He refused to be intimidated, and finding that there was no prospect of relief sent for the Guards. Soon after nine o'clock, Justice Addington rode up at the head of the Horse Guards amid a storm of hissing. The Foot Guards followed behind. Taking advantage of a lull, the magistrate assured the people that his intentions were peaceable, and that he would send away the soldiers if they would disperse. On this the mob, after cheering the magis-

[1] *Fanaticism and Treason* (1780), p. 45.

trate, began to melt away and the cavalry galloped off. As soon as the lobby was cleared, the House divided on the resolution to take the petition into consideration immediately. The result of the division was that six members voted in favour of the resolution, 192 against it. The House then adjourned, and, as the streets were now clear, the Guards were ordered back to the barracks.

This appearance of tranquillity was, however, deceptive. When the mob had left Palace Yard, it had been marched off by detachments to two of the Embassy chapels, thus showing that serious mischief had all along been deliberately intended and planned. One division went off in the direction of Oxford Street to the Bavarian ambassador's house in Golden Square; the other to the Sardinian Embassy in Lincoln's Inn Fields where Bishop Challoner so often preached.

When the rioters broke into the Bavarian Embassy, Count Haslang, who had been ambassador for forty years, and was now an old man of eighty, immediately sent for the military, but they arrived too late to prevent the destruction of his chapel. The altars were dragged to pieces, and the great painting by Spagnoletto over the high altar was torn down and flung on the bonfire in which the benches and other woodwork were already blazing.

At the Sardinian Embassy similar scenes were enacted. Here, Madame Cordon, the ambassador's wife, lay ill, but the situation was so dangerous that Thomas Walpole, who occupied another house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, went to her rescue, and "dragged her, for she could scarce stand with terror and weakness, to his own house".[1] While the mob were battering in the doors, the Blessed Sacrament was rescued, while a woman named Mrs. Roberts took the sacred vessels from the sacristy, and succeeded in carrying them to the Ship Tavern in Little Turnstile, where a priest was hiding. When day-break came, the priest placed an altar-stone on a table in a room on the first-floor, and said Mass in thanksgiving for the preservation of the Blessed Sacrament, Mrs. Roberts making the responses.[2]

[1] Letter, Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann, June 5, 1780, vii., 382.

[2] *The Lamp*, Oct. 10, 1857, in which year Mrs. Roberts died at the age of ninety-three. It has been stated that the priest in question was Dr. James Archer, but it appears that he did not arrive in London till some days after the riots.

But meanwhile the chapel had been completely wrecked. The organ, the altar-rails, and seats, as well as the altars themselves, were hacked to pieces, carried into the street and set on fire. In about twenty minutes the chapel itself was in flames, and the ambassador's house was threatened. Fire engines were sent for; but, when they arrived, the mob refused to let them play on the burning building. The Attorney-General, Sir Alexander Wedderburn, who lived close by, remonstrated with the firemen on not doing their duty, whereupon he was set upon by the rioters with cries of "No Popery! A spy, lads, a spy," and with difficulty escaped back to his house. At length the Foot Guards arrived, dispersed the crowds and the flames were got under. Several arrests were made and the turmoil gradually subsided.

Bishop Challoner's lodgings were within ten minutes' walk of the Sardinian Embassy, and soon after eleven o'clock news was brought that the rioters had set the embassy on fire and intended to come immediately to seize the bishop in person and to burn his house. The bishop had already gone to rest, but his chaplains, going to him, awaked him from his sleep, and begged that he would rise and go to the house of a friend for the night. They did not tell him the full extent of the danger, but said that the crowds were increasing and had done some damage; that everybody was in dread; and that there was a possibility of the mob coming to his house to attack him.

For a time the bishop refused to do as they wished, expressing his confidence in the protection of God. But Mr. Bolton, one of his priests, insisted that he should not remain in such imminent danger: so that at length he gave way, and went to the house of a friend not far off where he spent the night. His danger was very real. Milner writing a twelvemonth later says:—

"Our Prelate was one of the principal objects at which the frenzy of the populace was levelled during the late riots. The poor habitation, in which he was accustomed latterly to preach, was laid in ruins by their fury: and the house in which he had lived for some years, was one of the very first that was marked out for destruction, and was twice or three times saved by mere accident. As to his person, it is known to have been their intention to have chaired him in derision.

and thus to carry about, in a kind of mock triumph, this peaceable and venerable old man upon their frantic expeditions. How this barbarous ceremony was to have ended God only knows."[1]

In another place the same writer adds that had they succeeded in getting possession of his person, it is highly probable that they would have proceeded to more fatal effects. There was a tradition among Catholics of the next generation that many of the rioters had sworn to roast him alive.[2]

The attack was attempted, but in vain. Gloucester Street was soon swarming with rioters seeking for his house, while the bishop in his hiding-place was near enough to hear the hoarse cries of the rabble calling on the Popish bishop to come forth. By the providence of God, however, their efforts were baffled and they failed to discover the house they sought. As the night advanced the excitement of the rioters wore itself out and no further outrages were committed. When morning came, Mr. Bolton hurried off to the house of the bishop's friend, Mr. Mawhood, in Smithfield. The night before about twenty of the rabble had made a disturbance there, and Mr. Mawhood himself took refuge with a neighbour till they had moved away, fortunately without doing any mischief. Mr. Bolton asked him if he could shelter the bishop in his house at Finchley. Mr. Mawhood willingly agreed, and during the course of the morning came and offered his house to Dr. Challoner, who accepted it and made arrangements to set out that afternoon. The town was quiet, as the rioters seemed exhausted with the exertions of the previous day. Mr. Mawhood immediately despatched a message to his wife at Finchley to say that the bishop would arrive during the afternoon, and Lady Stourton sent her chariot to take him there. In this way, advantage was taken of the lull in the riots to place him in a situation of comparative safety. His chaplain, Mr. Bolton, preferred to remain in town. Of the other priests who lived close by, Mr. Brown went away, removing all his goods; but Mr. Lindow and Mr. Rice remained in Harpur Street.

The Saturday passed by quietly. There was a gathering of

[1] *Funeral Discourse*, note, pp. 16-17.
[2] See *Dolman's Magazine*, vi., 81.

people in Covent Garden who assembled to see the rioters, who had been captured the previous night at the Sardinian Embassy, brought from the Savoy to Bow Street, but they contented themselves with cheering the prisoners, and throwing a few stones at the Life-Guards. Evidence was given against the prisoners by some witnesses who paid dearly for their testimony afterwards, and who became the next victims of the Protestant Association. Ultimately the prisoners were remanded till the Monday.

Notwithstanding the experiences of the previous afternoon the House of Lords met as usual, and Earl Bathurst moved for an address to his majesty, praying that immediate orders might be issued for the prosecution of the "authors, abettors and instruments of the outrages of Friday on the Houses of Parliament, and the chapels and property of the two embassies".

Had the Government, even at this juncture, acted with vigour, further harm might have been prevented. As it was, no advantage was taken of the lull in the storm, and that evening it showed signs of breaking out once more. The chapel in Ropemakers' Alley, Moorfields, was attacked, but the Lord Mayor succeeded in preventing its destruction, this being the first and last act of authority that emanated from the Mansion House during the whole of the riots.

On Sunday morning in the quiet of Finchley, Bishop Challoner was able to say Mass, in the presence of the good Catholic family who were sheltering him, and after dinner they recited Vespers together, not knowing that on that same afternoon an organised attack was being made by the rioters on the Catholics of London. According to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "the rabble met in Moorfields and, as it were, in an instant collected a body of several thousand". This crowd bore down on the little chapel in Ropemaker's Alley, which had been threatened the night before. Three ladies, who were in the house next door, thought they might save the chapel by appearing at the window and appealing to the crowd. But the ferocious aspect of the mob terrified them, and volleys of brick-bats directed against the windows forced them, with about ten other Catholics, to escape through the back door, whilst the rioters were beating in the front of the house. Mr. Hunt, a glazier, who acted as clerk to the chapel, escaped with

his son, a boy of thirteen, by the roof. There they got over a parapet and slid down a wooden pipe to the ground. The others had to scale a high paling, surmounted by tenter-hooks, in order to reach a yard containing some unoccupied houses, through which they were able to get away. Meanwhile the mob had taken possession of the chapel and totally demolished it. Every movable article was thrown out into the street to be either burned there, or carried off by rioters as a trophy. The two adjoining houses shared the same fate, as well as another in White Street occupied by Mr. Dillon, the priest, who had been tried for his priesthood some years before. Other houses which were attacked in this neighbourhood, either on this occasion or on the following Wednesday, were those belonging to Mr. Malo, a silk-weaver, to Mary Crook, and to a family named Walsh. In these cases not only was the furniture, together with all the other contents, thrown out into the street to be burnt, but the very houses were pulled down in whole or in part. At Mr. Malo's house some cages of canaries were carried out, and though some of those present offered to purchase them, the leaders of the mob said they were Popish birds and should burn with the rest of the Popish goods. Accordingly the terrified little creatures were thrown alive and screaming on to the flames.

Kennett, the Lord Mayor, now thoroughly terrified, shut himself up in the Mansion House, and did nothing to stop further outrages. He was known to be an ignorant man of dissolute life, whose fortune had been amassed by most discreditable means, and he now showed himself to be a coward as well. When Catholics appealed to him for help, he put them off in impotent terror, and refused to give the soldiers the orders on which they could have acted. Meanwhile the rioters were encouraged by the fact that no resistance was offered, and the soldiers who were present in the streets could do nothing but stand by, looking on as spectators.

Monday morning found Catholics everywhere in a state of the utmost terror and consternation. Mr. Mawhood, hurrying up from Finchley at half-past six in the morning, went straight to the bishop's house in Gloucester Street, to fetch him some clothes that he needed. But Mrs. Hanne had apparently fled. He knocked several times but could not gain admittance.

Going on to the lodgings of Mr. Brown, he found there only his housekeeper and his boy who took him round to Harpur Street to find Mr. Lindow or Mr. Rice. Both were out, and the boy could only tell him that Mr. Lindow had been in a terrible state "walking about the room as if out of his senses". Finally he managed to get what the bishop required and returned to Finchley, the bishop being "very much affected". Presently a letter was received from young Charles Mawhood, who was at Smithfield, to say it was reported that Mr. Mawhood's house and premises there "would be fired by Lord George Gordon's blue Cockade Banditti". Mr. Mawhood thus describes in his diary the subsequent events:—

"On receiving son Charles's Express, consulted ye bishop, who advised, nay insisted, I should not go to town, but on my representing to him that my all was at stake he permitted me. After going to my Duty to him, he put his hands on my head and made the most moving prayer I ever heard for my safety, after which I and Mrs. Mawhood set off for London, being the King's birthday."

In another passage he describes the sequel: "Arrived at Lord George Germain's office for assistance; but neither Lord Germain nor Mr. De Gray there, the messenger advised me to the War Office—went there—neither Mr. Jenkinson or Lewis there—see a clerk at almost the top of the house, but he said no assistance could be given me unless signed by a Justice of the Peace, but said in case of distress I must send to the Tower or Savoy—came home with Mr. Atkins who informed me he expected Maberly's house would be that night levelled for his assistance and taking a person at the Sardinian Ambassador's. Found it difficult getting through the streets, being the King's birthday. Stopped at Long Lane, being fearful of coming directly to my house. Mr. Atkins went, brought word all was safe—we then went home—found Capt. Thornton, Edward Coldwell and my family in the utmost fears, being by them advised to quit the house. Got Mr. Gaisford and a guard from Robinson's, and arrived, Mrs. Mawhood and self, at Finchley at 11 o'clock."

Mr. Atkins's worst fears for the safety of Mr. Maberly's house were justified. By the time the Mawhoods reached Finchley that Monday night, the destruction of his premises

and much other mischief had been done. In the morning there had been a sort of Protestant demonstration before Lord George Gordon's house in Welbeck Street, when the rioters paraded before his mansion with trophies from the destroyed chapels, fragments of splintered woodwork, altar-rails, benches, odd vestments and the like, all of which were burnt with great triumph in the adjoining fields.

Meanwhile the work of destruction was being zealously carried on. One party of wreckers made for the chapel in Virginia Street, Wapping, while another set out for that in Nightingale Lane, East Smithfield; and both of these were utterly devastated.

The Irishmen of Wapping did not intend to lose their chapel without a blow in its defence. They went to their priest and proposed to enrol themselves in a body to defend the remaining Catholic chapels. The priest went to the Home Secretary on the Monday morning, to suggest that this offer should be accepted; but the minister discouraged the idea on the ground that the soldiers would be able to suppress any further outbreak. Soldiers were, in fact, sent to Virginia Street during the day, and the priests went about among the Irish Catholics, exhorting them to remain quiet, and not to interfere with the rioters if any attack were made. But when the mob arrived, the rioters entered the alley in which the chapel was, from the opposite end, so that the first intimation that the soldiers in Virginia Street had, that the attack had begun was the sight of the beds and other furniture being hurled out from the windows of the priests' house. Even then no orders were given, and the troops remained inactive while the rioters destroyed the chapel, pulled down one house and ruined another. One of the priests, the Rev. Michael Copps, was pursued by the rioters, and only saved his life by leaping across a wide ditch, over which the mob was unable to follow him.

Meanwhile, the Catholics with wonderful self-control obeyed their priests, and thus worse consequences were avoided. Burke subsequently thus described the forbearance of the Irish Catholics: "I suppose there are not in London less than four or five thousand of that persuasion from my country, who do a great deal of the most laborious works in the metropolis; and they chiefly inhabit those quarters, which were the principal

theatre of the fury of the bigoted multitude. They are known to be men of strong arms, and quick feelings, and more remarkable for a determined resolution, than clear ideas or much foresight. But though provoked by everything that can stir the blood of men, their houses and chapels in flames, and with the most atrocious profanations of everything which they hold sacred before their eyes, not a hand was moved to retaliate or even to defend. Had a conflict once begun, the rage of their persecutors would have been redoubled. Thus fury encreasing by the reverberation of outrages, house being fired for house and church for chapel, I am convinced that no power under heaven could have prevented a general conflagration; and at this day London would have been a tale. But I am well informed, and the thing speaks it, that their clergy exerted their whole influence to keep their people in such a state of forbearance and quiet as, when I look back, fills me with astonishment."[1]

In the next place, revenge was taken on those who had given evidence in the case of the rioters arrested on the Friday night. This was probably caused by the termination of the proceedings at Bow Street, when several of the prisoners were committed for trial and sent to Newgate. The guards, who escorted them there, were on their return pelted by the mob. One of the soldiers, being struck by a stone, presented his gun at the crowd—but his commanding officer forbade him to fire, and the company beat a hasty retreat. From this time threats of breaking into Newgate were openly expressed. In the meanwhile the defenceless witnesses offered an easy prey. Marching to Little Queen Street, the mob broke into the house and shop of Mr. Maberly, which they looted, as Mr. Adams had feared. Another witness, Mr. Rainsforth, a tallow-chandler, had his premises in Stanhope Street, Clare Market, not far off. These suffered the same fate. It does not appear that either of these men were Catholics, but they suffered merely for giving evidence against the rioters who had been committed for trial.

The next subject for the fury of the mob was Sir George Savile, who had introduced the Relief Bill into Parliament, and so was regarded by the Protestant Association with special

[1] Speech to the Electors of Bristol, 1780.

bitterness. His mansion, Savile House, which stood in Leicester Fields, was broken into and much of his property dragged out and burnt in the street, though he had prudently removed his plate and other valuables.

Another party continued the work of destruction already begun at Moorfields. "They pulled down a house belonging to a Roman Catholic School-master in Moorfields in about one hour; which when done some thousands went to a Popish school in Charles Square, Hoxton, and behaved in a very riotous manner."[1] The school needless to say was utterly destroyed.

That evening the Government issued a proclamation offering a reward of £500 to persons giving information as to those concerned in the attacks on the embassy chapels. By Tuesday morning vigorous steps were taken. All the available troops were called out and stationed at the Tower, both Houses of Parliament, St. James's Palace and elsewhere; while Light Dragoons were stationed at Kennington and Newington Butts, so as to prevent any further assembly in St. George's Fields.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the disturbances continued. The Prime Minister's house was attacked, and only saved by a party of Light Horse which rode up and beat back the assailants by force, wounding many of them with the sword. As Lord Sandwich went down to the House of Lords, he was set upon and wounded, while his carriage was demolished. The soldiers rescued him with difficulty. On this being made known to the House, the Peers adjourned for a fortnight, on the ground that it was impossible to transact business while they were surrounded by tumult and protected by military force.

In the House of Commons resolutions were passed asserting the privileges of the House, and appointing a committee to inquire into the outrages. Further resolutions directed a prosecution by the Attorney-General, an address to the King for the reimbursement of the loss caused to the Sardinian and Bavarian Embassies, and finally for the consideration of the Protestant Association's petition when the tumults should have subsided. One of the members, Mr. Herbert, perceiving Lord George Gordon in the House wearing his blue cockade, de-

[1] *Political Magazine*, 1780, pp. 428 *ss.*

clared that he could not sit and vote in that House at a moment when he saw a noble lord with an ensign of riot in his hat. The newspaper account continues: "Lord George's friends interposed upon this, and his lordship not being willing to take out his cockade, they in a manner forced it from him".[1] Dunning spoke condemning the Ministry, the military and the mob; and the members generally accepted the view that the House could do no legal act while thus beset by the soldiers and rioters, especially as by this time many of the latter were armed with poleaxes, cutlasses and bludgeons. The House, therefore, hastily adjourned.

From this Tuesday evening the riots entered on a new phase; and the very existence of London was imperilled. Hitherto the damage worked, great as it had been, was directed against Catholics and their supporters alone, and was the work of the fanatics enrolled in the Protestant Association. But the vast forces of disorder which ever lie dormant in great cities had been awakened, and deep answered unto deep. The lowest ruffians and criminals saw their opportunity in the scenes of incendiarism and plunder which the religious zealots had carried on, and they were not slow to improve on the lesson. The suggestion that the prisoners should be released from Newgate by force, was taken up by the most violent and desperate of the lowest classes, and from this time onward the riots became a flood of anarchy in which Lord George Gordon and his Protestants were overwhelmed and swept away. The attack was on law, order and civilisation itself, and from six o'clock on Tuesday evening till the following Thursday London was at the mercy of the mob. The destruction of Catholic houses still continued, but the sufferings and losses of the few were as nothing compared with the general havoc that was wrought or attempted on the most daring scale.

It is not possible to describe here the further progress of the riots in detail. The scenes enacted have in their general features been immortalised in English literature in the pages of *Barnaby Rudge*, and that, as has been already remarked, with an accuracy which raises the romance to the dignity of history. All that can be attempted is some indication of the chief features of this reign of terror, and of the fortunes of the

[1] *Morning Post*, June 7, 1780.

Catholics so far as they may be traced. The attack on Newgate was the turning point at which the riots, from being a manifestation of anti-Catholic fury, became a menace to all London. Amid scenes of indescribable confusion and terror, the great prison was captured and set blazing. Three hundred criminals were let loose to add to the horrors of the situation, and acts of robbery and violence took place in every street.

Before this attack on Newgate, the vengeance of the crowd had been wreaked on Justice Hyde. His house near Leicester Fields, with all its contents, was destroyed in less than an hour, his offence being that he had that morning rescued Lord Sandwich from the hands of the rioters.

As midnight approached, the great mob, intoxicated with the destruction of Newgate, and maddened with excitement, divided up into gangs which carried destruction into different parts of the town. One went to Great Queen Street and demolished the house of Justice Cox; another went to Clerkenwell, where they forced the gates of the new prison and liberated more criminals; a third attacked the house of Sir John Fielding, where they destroyed all his furniture, pictures and writings. Another party, knowing that Bishop Challoner lived in the neighbourhood of Devonshire Street, Red Lion Square, hastened there, but not finding his lodgings, wrecked the house of Mr. Doughty instead. At this time the Ship Tavern in Turnstile, where Dr. Challoner had so often preached and where Mass was often said, was also destroyed; but the most irretrievable damage of all was wrought at Lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury Square. It was after midnight when they broke in at the front door, just as Lord and Lady Mansfield were escaping at the back, and they began at once to wreck the mansion. Doors and windows were broken down, the costly furniture and valuable paintings thrown out into the street to be burned, and, worse than all, the Chief Justice's library, stored as it was, not only with many thousands of books, but with manuscripts and original records which he had long collected, was looted and entirely destroyed. Thus the notes of one of England's greatest judges on the national constitution and laws all perished. Finding their way to the cellars, the crowd seized upon the contents and the riot grew madder thereby. Sir Thomas Mills went for the soldiers, but the officer said that

the justices of the peace had all run away, and he could not act without a magistrate. The mob, hearing this, seized Sir Thomas and dragged him to the fire, threatening to throw him into the flames. Others rescued him, however, and he escaped. Ultimately he found a magistrate to read the Riot Act, and the order to fire was given. Two volleys were fired, and several of the rioters fell, six men and one woman being killed outright. During the same night Lord Petre's town house in Park Lane was gutted, and it was reported that a mob of 3,000 had set off to destroy his Essex seat, Thorndon Hall.

On Wednesday morning, and during the whole day, the riots were at their worst. Horace Walpole, driving up from Strawberry Hill, found a camp of 10,000 soldiers forming in Hyde Park as quickly as possible, and the Berkshire Militia had just arrived. The mob, realising that they might be attacked in force, seized the stores in the Artillery Ground and armed themselves. The deliberation with which their plans were arranged and executed is shown by the fact that on Wednesday morning notice was sent round to all the prisons, informing the prisoners at what hour they would be released, and advising them to move their effects before the prisons were burned down. Mr. Langdale, a well-known Catholic, who owned a large distillery in Holborn, received similar mocking notice, as did other Catholics. The mob further announced their intention of destroying the Royal Palaces, the Bank, the Inns of Court and Woolwich Arsenal.

That day all the shops were shut, and blue flags were hung out at every window. The words "No Popery" or "This is a Protestant house" were chalked on windows and shutters by way of protection. The terrified Catholics were trying to save their goods by flight, but no one dared to receive anything from a Catholic house, and it became impossible to hire conveyances in which to escape. It is said that a hackney coachman refused ten guineas rather than drive some Catholics from the Strand to Highgate. Some, carrying their property with them into the country, fell an easy prey to foot-pads who robbed them of the little property they were endeavouring to save. Meanwhile such Catholics as could make their escape, did so.[1]

[1] "Many Roman Catholic families of consequence, resident at Hammersmith, have removed their effects and left their several places of residence, as have

Dr. Johnson, walking with Dr. Scot to see what was left of Newgate, found it "in ruins with a fire yet glowing". He wrote a description of what he saw to Mrs. Thrale: "as I went by, the Protestants were plundering the Sessions House at the Old Bailey. There were not, I believe, a hundred; but they did their work at leisure in full security without sentinels, without trepidation as men lawfully employed in full day."

Edmund Burke's brother, Richard, in a letter dated "June 7, 1780, in what was London,"[1] says:—

"This is the fourth day that the metropolis of England (once of the world) is possessed by an enraged, furious and numerous enemy. Their outrages are beyond description, and meet with no resistance. . . . If one could in decency laugh, must not one laugh to see what I saw; a single boy, of fifteen years at most, in Queen Street, mounted on a pent-house, demolishing a house with great zeal, but much at his ease, and throwing the pieces to two boys still younger, who burnt them for their amusement, no one daring to obstruct them? Children are plundering at noon-day the city of London. . . . The Bank is by rumour the great object of this night. I may almost assure you that no plan of defence, or, much less of offence, is resolved on. May I be mistaken! The magistrates have *all* refused to act. This night delivers us to a furious rabble, and an army who, I fear, have but little discipline."

Two attacks were, in fact, made upon the Bank of England, one led by a man mounted on a brewer's horse decorated with chains from Newgate, but there was so strong a force of soldiery at the Royal Exchange that they were beaten back with little difficulty. The well-known Jack Wilkes, demagogue though he was, took an active part in repulsing them, and declared that, if he were in power, he would not leave one rioter

many other respectable persons of the same persuasion in and near the Metropolis" (*Morning Post*, June 8, 1780). Lady Bedingfeld in her journal, written at the Hammersmith Convent fifty years later, has recorded the traditions of that house in describing the old gardener, Livermore: "During the riots in 1780 this Convent was marked for destruction, but was saved by the mob being told that Queen Elizabeth had been educated here. The poor nuns of the day were concealed in the houses of the tradespeople. The Blessed Sacrament was buried somewhere in the Garden, and this same Livermore watched it for three days and three nights; I do not wonder they respect him" (*Jerningham Letters*, ii., 309).

[1] *Burke's Correspondence*, 1844 ed., ii., 350.

alive. Meanwhile minor acts of plundering went on unrestrained. Walpole's friend, Charles Turner, was forced to give up forty-five guineas, and Lady Albemarle was robbed in Pall Mall. Three boys went down Holborn shouting "No Popery," brandishing iron bars from Lord Mansfield's railings and extorting money at every shop. One man mounted on horseback refused to take anything but gold, while among the dead was a chimney-sweep about sixteen years old, who was found to have forty guineas in his pockets.

That morning was an anxious one for the little household at Finchley. Mr. Mawhood, before leaving for London, arranged with his neighbour Mr. Bremers, an apothecary, that in the event of danger the bishop was to be moved there, so as not to be in Mr. Mawhood's house, should a mob arrive. He then took his wife up to London, leaving his daughter Dorothy to look after their guest. The good couple spent the day removing their securities to Fuller's Bank, and safely disposing of the stock in trade, "greatly alarmed with the Mobs which continually passed our house". Things looked so threatening that during the morning Mr. Mawhood sent a messenger to his daughter desiring her to move the bishop at once to Mr. Bremers's, but his messenger crossed one from her expressing her fears that the house was threatened, and the bishop no longer safe. This messenger, a man called Mumford, reported that a large mob was assembled on Hampstead Heath, which so terrified Mrs. Mawhood that she would not return to Finchley at all. Mumford was sent back at once with orders to move the bishop without delay. The rest is best told in the hurried and broken language of the diary.[1]

"The bishop seemed much affected with my news by the Express, and brought down his purple bag, which inclosed his clothes, and laying it on the table in our long room, he had much discourse with my daughter, Dorothy, what was best to be done. He, however, dined, after which he took his bag up to his room and stayed some hours; when, on Mumford returning, he again came down, and Mumford related how affrightened he was being taken for a priest, and at the riot then going on at Lord Mansfield at Hampstead and London. They per-

[1] For convenience' sake abbreviations have been expanded and the spelling modernised.



Dorothy Mawhood.

suaded or endeavoured to persuade the bishop to retire to Mr. Bremer's, on which the bishop again retired to his room. Mumford through the keyhole see[1] him prostrate in prayers, and, coming down again, they still persuaded him to go—on which the bishop, after remaining silent some time, said, 'No, I will remain with my old friend and remain in his house, as I am confident no harm will happen either to his town, or this house; but I am neither prophet nor have it by revelation'."

In spite of this disclaimer, it is remarkable that the bishop's prediction was made at a time when the tumult was at its height and there seemed no chance of an end. During the afternoon, the mobs had gone from excess to excess until London was in flames. Mr. Mawhood, who with his wife spent the night in a friend's house at Islington, wrote, "on going to bed, it appeared all London was on fire". At the other end of the town Horace Walpole stood on the roof of Gloucester House watching the fires. Next morning he wrote: "I own I shall not soon forget the sight I saw from the top of Gloucester House. . . . I remember the Excise and the Gin Act, and the rebels at Derby, and Wilkes's interlude and the French at Plymouth; or I should have a very bad memory; but I never till last night saw London and Southwark in flames."

Dr. Johnson, peering out from his house in Bolt Court, saw the same sight, and thus described it to Mrs. Thrale: "At night they set fire to the Fleet and to the King's Bench and I know not how many other places; and one might see the glare of conflagration fill the sky from many parts. The sight was dreadful. Some people were threatened; Mr. Strahan advised me to take care of myself. Such a time of terror you have been happy in not seeing."[2]

The account of one more eye-witness may be cited in the vivid description written by Thomas Holcroft, the dramatist, journalist and actor. In the pamphlet describing the riots, which he published under the name of William Vincent, he says:—[3]

[1] Throughout his diary Mr. Mawhood uses this South country form of the past tense of the verb "to see".

[2] Letter to Mrs. Thrale, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, under date June, 1780.

[3] Pp. 31-32.

"With minds thus predisposed to terror by so many objects of devastation, and in a city which but a few days before enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity, let those who were not spectators judge what the inhabitants felt when they beheld at the same instant the flames ascending and rolling in vast and voluminous clouds from the King's Bench and Fleet Prisons, from New Bridewell, from the Toll-gates on Blackfriars Bridge, from houses in every quarter of the town, and particularly from the bottom and middle of Holborn, where the conflagration was horrible beyond description. The houses that were first set on fire at this last-mentioned place, both belonged to Mr. Langdale, an eminent distiller, and contained immense quantities of spirituous liquors. It is easy to conceive what fury these would add to the flames; but to form an adequate idea of the distress of the neighbouring inhabitants of every part of the city, is not so easy: men, women and children were running up and down with beds, glasses, bundles, or whatever they wished most to preserve. In streets where there were no fires, numbers were removing their goods and effects at midnight. The tremendous roar of the insatiate and innumerable fiends who were the authors of these horrible scenes, was heard at one instant, and at the next the dreadful report of soldiers' muskets, as if firing in platoons, and at various places; in short every thing which could impress the mind with ideas of universal anarchy and approaching desolation, seemed to be accumulating. Sleep and rest were things not thought of; the streets were swarming with people, and uproar, confusion, and terror reigned in every part."

When the distillery was sacked the climax of horror was reached, for the casks were staved in and the multitude began to drink the raw spirits. A great stream of liquor poured down into the street gutter, and was taken up by pailfuls and held to the mouths of all who would drink. The inflammable spirits also fed the flames into which drunken wretches staggered blindly, only to fall helpless and be burnt alive. Some died merely from the effects of the non-rectified spirits, and not only men, but boys, and even women with children in their arms, lay prostrate in the street to be trampled on by the crowd. Others wandering about half-stupefied were crushed under masses falling from the blazing buildings.

About half-past nine, when Mr. Langdale's private house was already in flames—a huge bonfire of empty casks that had been stacked up opposite to St. Andrew's Church, blazing simultaneously—a body of rioters marched off to the house of his son, who was also a distiller, and whose home and business premises were close to Fetter Lane. Here the scene of destruction was repeated, with the additional catastrophe that the flames spread to Barnard's Inn, a considerable portion of which was burnt down.

"My printer," wrote Horace Walpole to Mason,[1] "whom I had sent out for intelligence, came not home till past nine the next morning: I feared he was killed, but then I heard of such a scene. He had beheld three sides of the Fleet Market in flames, Barnard's Inn at one end, the prison on one side and the distiller's on the other, besides Fetter and Shoe Lanes with such horrors of distraction, distress, etc. as are not to be described; besides accounts of slaughter near the Bank."

So passed Wednesday night away with no prospect of relief. Yet at length the Government had acted, and the end was near at hand. In the evening, a council had been held at Buckingham House, at which the judges as well as the Privy Councillors attended. King George himself presided, and explained that the soldiers could not act because no magistrates could be found to read the Riot Act. Wedderburn, the Attorney-General, who throughout the whole disturbances had maintained a bold front, and who had fortified and barricaded his own house so as to offer armed resistance to the rioters, spoke out boldly while the Ministers wavered. He stated that in his judgment, when a mob was engaged in a felony no delay or formality was required by the Riot Act or any other law if there were no other means of restraint. The king on this declared that this was his own opinion also and that he would now act on it: "There shall be at all events one magistrate in the kingdom who will do his duty".

A Royal Proclamation was therefore at once issued, warning all well-disposed persons to keep within their dwellings, and empowering the military forces to repress the riots by force. No time was lost. Colonel Holroyd led the Northumberland

[1] June 9, 1780, vii., 391.

Militia straight to Holborn into the midst of the rioting, where they succeeded in scattering the mob before them. A detachment of the Guards drove out a plundering party which had taken possession of Blackfriars Bridge. In the fighting that ensued some were shot, while others in their panic threw themselves into the Thames.

In the West-end of London all was now quiet. Cordons of soldiers were drawn up across Holborn and Fleet Street so as to prevent the mob from moving in that direction. The theatres that night were open as usual, and Ranelagh Gardens attracted the usual crowd. Horace Walpole was able to assure the Countess of Ossory that there was no panic in that part of the town.

By Thursday morning the worst was over. When Mr. and Mrs. Mawhood rose early, they received the news that, contrary to their expectations, their house in Smithfield was safe. One of their host's servants who had gone into town soon after three in the morning, returned at five with the good news. Twice in the night the mob had entered the house, but some friends and neighbours produced a Book of Common Prayer from the house, which seems to have satisfied the mob, for after this, on receiving money, they dispersed. In his agitation, however, Mr. Mawhood seems to have become pardonably confused, for, after repeating some of the previous day's happenings, he adds that a boy came to warn him that 250 of the mob was immediately coming from Newgate "which they had burned ye preceding night," whereas Newgate had been destroyed two nights before. However, the rumour that the mob was actually coming was corroborated by the first clerk of the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office who arrived with a fire engine, "on which we were so affrighted that Mrs. Mawhood and self set off and arrived at Finchley in the evening, after which the Soldiers took forty or fifty prisoners and set of Newgate (*sic*) which prevented our house being attacked".

The soldiers had, in fact, been active all day long, and even the magistrates began to recover some courage. Many arrests were made besides those of the fifty rioters who, as Mr. Mawhood heard, had been captured while engaged in a vain effort to rekindle the fire at Newgate. A large number of the criminals who had been set loose on Tuesday night were also

retaken in the neighbourhood of the ruined jail. There was little fresh rioting except in Southwark, where an attack was made on the Marshalsea Prison, but this was easily repelled. Some Catholic houses in Tooley Street and Kent Street were also attacked, but order was slowly restored.

Almost the last incident in the riots was an encounter between the Guards and the rioters in Fleet Street, which took place on Thursday evening, and is described by Horace Walpole in a letter written on the following day:— [1]

"The rioters attacked the Horse-guards about six in Fleet Street, and, not giving them time to load, were repelled by the bayonet. Twenty fell, thirty-five were wounded and sent to the hospital, where two died directly. Three of the guards were wounded, and a young officer named Marjoribank. Mr. Conway's footman told me he was on a message at Lord Amherst's when the Guards returned, and that their bayonets were steeped in blood."

The House of Commons met only to adjourn, as the town seemed given over to martial law. Rumours were spread that the riots had been instigated by the French, and that French money had been found on the rioters. Walpole, who heard everything, heard this too. "It is said that this insurrection was expected in France a month ago. Just as I came away Mr. Griffith told me the French were embarking." [2]

The Government were able by a further proclamation to reassure public feeling, which seemed to dread martial law only something less than it feared the violence of the rioters.

By Friday morning quiet was restored. Mr. Mawhood's entry in his diary ran:—

"Came to Town to breakfast—received the neighbours' compliments of my escape; went with Mr. Webb, our neighbour, to see poor Langdale's two houses &c. that the mob had burned, the Fleet prison etc; and see the soldiers who lay on straw in St. Paul's Church Yard. All now beginning to be peaceable, I ordered some of my goods home. . . . The soldiers still continue to take prisoners. After, Mrs. Mawhood and self went to Finchley; found all well."

[1] Letter to Countess of Ossory, June 9, 1780, vii., 389.
[2] Horace Walpole to Rev. William Mason, June 9, 1780, vii., 392.

A more important prisoner had, however, been made that day than Mr. Mawhood was aware of. At eleven o'clock a council was held, in consequence of which a warrant was issued for the arrest of Lord George Gordon himself. Two king's messengers immediately set out to his house in Welbeck Street, where they were received by Lord George, who only said: "If you are sure it is me you want, I am ready to attend you". He was then taken in a hackney-coach under military escort to the Horse Guards, where he was examined before Lord North and several Ministers and members of the Privy Council. At half-past nine, he was committed a prisoner to the Tower of London, whither he was conveyed by a powerful military escort.

The conduct of Lord George Gordon during the later portion of the riots is so strange and inconsistent, that he would appear to have entirely lost his self-control in the excitement. Up to the Tuesday evening, which was signalised by the destruction of Newgate and the liberation of the criminals, the president of the Protestant Association had done nothing to stay the mischief he had incited. On that very evening, George Crabbe, the poet, who was a spectator of the burning of Newgate, had seen him "in a coach drawn by the mob towards Alderman Bull's, bowing as he passed along". He adds: "He is a lively looking young man in appearance and nothing more, though just now the reigning hero".

But, at that very time, the direction of the riots was passing from the hands of the Protestant Association, and a power which they could not control was already showing itself. Crabbe remarked that he had met on his way "a resolute band of vile-looking fellows, ragged, dirty and insolent, armed with clubs, going to join their companions".

The officials of the association now grew apprehensive at the growth of the disorder, and with a view to shifting the responsibility for the terrible damage that was being wrought, issued a handbill, in which, with incredible wickedness and folly, they declared that the riots were the work of the Catholics themselves.

"The Papists have destroyed the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels, and have committed various outrages, so as to be able to charge innocent persons with this crime; therefore, all Pro-

testants are requested to be patient, and, above all things, not to resort to any measures of retaliation."

Then, forgetting this amazing effrontery, Lord George wrote letters to Scotland which were subsequently intercepted by the Government, in which he described the riots in glowing terms of approbation. On the other hand, the association circulated a handbill requesting all well-disposed persons to abstain from wearing blue cockades, "as these ensigns are now assumed by a set of miscreants, whose purpose it is to burn this city and plunder its inhabitants".[1] It was even reported that the association had opposed the rioters by force: "I heard," wrote Walpole,[2] "that the Protestant Associators, disguised with blue cockades as friends, had fallen on the rioters in St. George's Fields and killed many".

In another letter written a few hours later, he says: "Yesterday was some slaughter in Fleet Street by the Horse Guards, and more in St. George's Fields by the Protestant Association, who fell on the rioters, who appear to have been chiefly apprentices, convicts, and all kinds of desperadoes; for Popery is already out of the question, and plunder all the object".[3]

In connection with Walpole's remark as to the apprentices, it is very striking to note how young many of the rioters seem to have been. Among those who were tried, and even among those who were executed, there were boys of thirteen and fourteen years old. When he came to report the trial of the rioters, he was full of disgust at their insignificance. "A score have been tried, and most of them condemned. They are apprentices, women, a black girl, and two or three escaped convicts. And these Catilines, without plan, plot, connection, or object, threw a million of inhabitants into consternation, burnt their houses about their ears, besieged the Parliament, drove it to adjourn for ten days, and have saddled the capital with ten thousand men."[4] And later he writes to the same correspondent: "Dissatisfaction grows again on the continuance of the camps, and on the numbers of boys that have been exe-

[1] Brit. Museum, Broadsides, etc., 1855, C. 4, no. 67.
[2] Letter to the Countess of Ossory, June 9, 1780, *loc. cit.*
[3] Letter to Rev. William Mason, June 9, 1780, vii., 390.
[4] Letter to Sir Horace Mann, July 6, 1780, vii., 413.

cuted for the riots; for the bulk of the criminals are so young that half a dozen schoolmasters might have quashed the insurrection. . . . A capital blazing, and held in terror for a week by so contemptible a rabble, will not tell well in story."[1]

Burke made noble efforts to save these unfortunate lads, but in vain; and George Selwyn, who took an interest in executions, remarked "that he had never seen boys cry so". Altogether twenty-one rioters were executed on the scaffold, but a far larger number had perished in the streets, either shot down by the soldiers or falling victims to drunkenness. The *Annual Register* for 1780 gives a return furnished to Government of the killed and wounded.

Killed by association troops and guards .	109
Killed by light horse	101
Died in hospitals	75

while there were 173 wounded prisoners still in the hospitals.

Large as these figures seem, the numbers of those who were found dead in Holborn, the morning after the orgy that accompanied the destruction of the distilleries, is said to have been even greater.

With the arrest of Lord George Gordon on the Friday, the riots, which had begun exactly one week before, may be considered to have ended; but the sufferings of the victims could not so easily cease. Many had lost all their property and means of livelihood. Fifty-seven Catholic houses had been damaged or destroyed.[2] Others were homeless; while the shock and terror of the agony they had gone through left its mark on many. It is said that those who witnessed the riots as children, even when old, would not willingly recall those days, or speak of them. When Barnard wrote his life of the bishop four years later, he stated that many even till that time acknowledged they had never yet got the better of their fright caused by the riots, "and can never think of them, but with such horror that the blood seems to chill in their veins".

Ultimately the damage was all made good, and compensation was paid to the sufferers, but it was some time before this could be done; and, meanwhile, the bitterness of the trial had to be endured. Those who had suffered most were per-

[1] Letter to Sir H. Mann, July 24, 1780, vii., 420. [2] See Appendix G.

sonal friends of Bishop Challoner, while even the humblest sufferers—the poor weavers, victuallers, druggists, brokers and labourers, of whom we read in the list of those whose houses had been destroyed—were his children and members of his flock. And in addition to the pain caused by their distress, there was the grief of knowing that the few little chapels, that had existed, now lay in ruins. The embassy chapels could indeed be restored, but the Catholics of London might well be too cowed and terrified to venture on reinstating the humble buildings, the very obscurity of which had not been able to save them.

Barnard finally tells how the bishop grieved especially over the loss of the place where he was accustomed to preach—the old Ship Tavern, that had been burned to the ground. "These things," he concludes, "did not, as indeed they could not, fail of preying upon the spirits of a man near ninety years of age; and of accelerating his death, which in effect happened within a few months."

One hundred and twenty-seven years after his death, Bishop Challoner's sufferings during the Gordon Riots were eloquently recalled to the memory of English Catholics on a striking and memorable occasion. A greater assembly of prelates and priests than had ever been gathered together in England, even in Catholic times, met in the great Cathedral at Westminster for the Eucharistic Congress of 1908. At the High Mass sung by the Papal Legate in the presence of five other cardinals, and nearly 100 archbishops and bishops from all parts of the world, the preacher was the Primate of the United States of America—Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore.

In the course of his sermon the cardinal, whose own see lies in the lands once under Bishop Challoner's jurisdiction, carried the memories of all present back to those days of persecution and contrasted them with the scene before him. "Oh, what a change has come over the face of this city," he cried, "since the death of Bishop Challoner one hundred and twenty-seven years ago. So stringent and oppressive were the religious restrictions in his day that he was obliged to observe the utmost circumspection in breaking the Bread of Life and dispensing the word of God to his scattered flock. His latter days were embittered by beholding his chapels ruthlessly

destroyed by a mob in the Lord George Gordon Riots. He could almost literally say with the Prophet Elias: With zeal have I been zealous for the Lord of Hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, they have destroyed thy Altars; they have slain thy prophets with the sword, and I alone am left, and they seek my life to take it away'."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE LAST YEAR AND THE END.

1780-1781.

BISHOP CHALLONER did not return to London immediately after the riots, but remained in Mr. Mawhood's house at Finchley, and according to the diary "was very well all the time".

On Tuesday, 13th June, Bishop Talbot came to dine with him and to report on the condition of affairs. There would have been much to arrange, as the relief of the plundered Catholics was a pressing and immediate necessity. Probably, too, by this time news of the spread of the riots in the provinces had come to hand, though fortunately these were not very extensive. It is related that four of the rioters had taken a post-chaise and set out for Bath. At Devizes they stopped and asked if there were any Catholics there. When they heard that there was but one, and that he was a cobbler, they said he was beneath their notice, and they continued on their way. Bath being the fashionable health resort of the day, attracted many visitors, a certain proportion of whom became permanent residents. As some of these were well-to-do Catholics, a chapel had been opened there, and Dr. Walmesley, the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, found it the most convenient place in his vicariate at which to live. Hence the attack of the rioters on the city. At Bath Bishop Walmesley's house was burnt, and with it perished all the archives of the Western District.[1] The chapel at Hull had also been destroyed, but these losses summed up the results of the riots outside London.

[1] This loss was the greater, because the bishop was a methodical man who kept all his papers most carefully. The value of the collection he formed after this date shows how much has been lost in the destruction of his earlier documents.

A week later it seemed that no further outbreak need be feared, and that the bishop might return to London. On Monday, 19th June, Mr. Lindow came to say that he had returned to Mrs. Hanne's house in Gloucester Street on the previous Friday, and he wished to know when the bishop would come home. Mr. Mawhood thought that further inquiry would be prudent, and on the following day he describes in his diary the precautions he thought well to take.

"Called and see Lord Petre: asked him if he thought Bishop Challoner could remove from my house (where he has been 17 days) with safety; he said all was now quiet, and he believed would be so; that our Act of Parliament would not be repealed, and that next Sessions more would be granted us. . . . Dined at Finchley; after Tea the good Bishop came with Mrs. Mawhood and me in our coach; we set him down at his own house, Gloucester Street. He begged me to accept of any of his books I liked, and promised his best wishes, etc. etc."

And so he parted from this upright, straightforward citizen, who, with his good Catholic family, had in the moment of their own distress, when their fortune was hourly at stake, taken thought for their bishop, and shielded him with such loving care. Their simple, honest and devout lives, so vividly described in the pages of the diary we have quoted so often, have long since been closed, but they have left a name which will be recorded with honour in Catholic history as long as the memory of Bishop Challoner is held in veneration.

For the next few weeks the bishop had to face the distress caused by the losses that his people had sustained; for though compensation was promised, it could not reasonably be expected till after long inquiries, whereas the need of some of the ruined Catholics was pressing and immediate. There were many sad cases calling for his sympathy and help. There was the instance of Mr. John Virtue, a weaver of Bethnal Green, who had acquired some skill in surgery, and was noted for the kindness with which he helped his poorer neighbours. His looms and other implements had been entirely wrecked, as well as his house, and he had not the means of establishing himself again in business. On the night when his home was destroyed, he and his family had to wander up and down the streets the whole night, for no one would venture to take them

in. Another weaver named Fogg, by the entire loss of his looms, was also reduced to destitution together with his mother and sister who depended upon him. An Italian merchant of St. Catherine's Lane, named Libarti, tried to save some of his goods by lodging them with a neighbour. But his friend grew terrified and sent them back, so that they were destroyed with the rest, and Mr. Libarti was so affected by his losses that his mind became unhinged. Mr. Malo was a native of Cambray who had settled in London nearly forty years before, and carried on an extensive trade in silk, having 200 looms which gave employment to 1,000 men. He had applied to the Lord Mayor for protection, time after time, but with no result, and in the end his house was sacked and all the looms destroyed, his workmen being thus thrown out of work and reduced to great distress. Amid the wrecking of their home the members of the family were separated one from another, and for two or three days they had no assurance of each other's safety. The eldest son was so prostrated with terror that for some days his life was despaired of, and his reason hung in the balance. Meanwhile his younger brother was searching all over London for his father and mother, who with two of their daughters lay concealed in the house of a friend. Another daughter escaped to an inn at Hackney, but the people of the house would not allow her to remain, and she had been forced to return to London, only to be refused admission to the house of an intimate friend. Finally she and her companion, a blind lady, were rescued by a gentleman who took them to his own house.

Similar stories of distress were to be heard on all hands, and no doubt there were many sad cases of families reduced from comfort to destitution in these few hours, which have not been recorded. Several persons had lost their senses through apprehension and terror, and Bethlehem Hospital alone received nine such cases, while three Catholics are known to have actually died of fright.[1] The list of Catholic families whose houses had been destroyed, which has already been referred to, shows how many there were, now homeless, as well as destitute of

[1] James Floyd, a ginger-bread baker near St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark; Mr. Eakin, a watch-maker of Holborn, and Mr. Mainwaring, who lived near the Fleet Prison. The name of Mr. Mawhood's servant, François, has sometimes been added to this list, but in the Diary his death is attributed to natural causes.

clothing and other necessaries. There was, therefore, wide scope for the exercise of the bishop's compassionate charity.

One of the results of the riots which touched Dr. Challoner most nearly was the death of his old friend, the Rev. James Dillon, who had served the chapel in Moorfields for thirty-six years, and who was too old and feeble to survive the shock of its destruction. He was a member of the ancient family of Dillon of Preudston, co. Meath, and had been educated at Douay from 1734 to 1741. During the whole of his London career he had been one of Dr. Challoner's most devoted priests, and the bishop used often to preach for him.[1] He had been one of the priests brought to trial by Payne in 1768 and acquitted by Lord Mansfield. When the mob attacked his house he had escaped, but all his furniture and books were burnt, so that he had not even a bed to sleep on. His health and spirits never recovered from the experiences of those days, so that he fell ill, lingered on for a few weeks, and died in the month of August.

Generally speaking, however, Catholics soon recovered confidence, and from the first they seem to have realised that no recurrence of the disturbance was likely. The chief question that interested them was whether Parliament would allow itself to be coerced into repealing the Relief Act, but their fears on this head were speedily put to rest.

When Parliament met again, the Protestant petition was taken into consideration, and five resolutions were proposed which had been drafted by Burke and finally settled by Lord North. Thus Whigs and Tories were at one in their determination not to repeal the Catholic Relief Act. In the debate which followed, this agreement was made still more manifest. Lord North, Lord Beauchamp, Sir George Savile, Wilkes, Burke and Fox rose one after another to speak in the same sense, and to declare that no repeal should be allowed. The resolutions which were passed declared that the scope and effects of the Catholic Relief Act had been misrepresented and misunderstood; that it had not repealed any statutes against Popery passed before the reign of William III.; that no ecclesiastical

[1] In a list of sermons preached between the years 1747 and 1758 the bishop mentions more than forty different occasions on which he had preached at Moorfields.

or spiritual jurisdiction or authority had been allowed to the Pope; that the House would watch over the interests of the Protestant religion with unremitted attention, and that all attempts to convert the youth of the kingdom to Popery were highly criminal according to the laws still in force, and were the proper subject of further regulation. The last resolution declared that all attempts at disquieting the minds of the people by misrepresenting the Relief Act as inconsistent with the safety, or irreconcilable to the principles, of the Protestant religion, had a manifest tendency to disturb the public peace, to bring dishonour on the national character, to discredit the Protestant religion in the eyes of other nations, and to furnish occasion for the renewal of the persecution of Protestants in other countries.

Before the end of the session, Lord North carried an address to the Crown, asking that an exact account might be taken of the losses and damages occasioned by the riots. Some months later the Board of Works received claims from private persons amounting to £130,000. This was exclusive of the damage committed at Newgate and other public buildings. Lord Mansfield refused to receive any compensation, as did Sir George Savile, but the last-named gentleman took speedy measures to dissociate himself from any supposed sympathy with Catholics, by bringing in a bill to prevent Catholics from keeping schools, or receiving young persons as boarders or as apprentices. This bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords. Its introduction served no useful purpose, but did much to diminish the sympathy and respect which Catholics felt for a statesman who had incurred heavy loss owing to his share in passing the Relief Act.

Meanwhile Lord George Gordon remained a prisoner in the Tower. On the 10th of November the Attorney-General presented a bill of indictment against him in the Court of King's Bench, and the grand jury returned a true bill, but he was not brought to trial till the following February, when to the general astonishment he was acquitted. Dr. Johnson, with his sound common sense, declared that he was glad Lord George had escaped rather than that a precedent should be established for hanging a man for constructive treason. But Catholics, who had suffered so much from his mad fanaticism, could not realise

that he was beyond the reach of the law, and looked for other reasons to explain the acquittal. Mr. Mawhood wrote: "He was acquitted at half-past three, morning, the constables being gone home, a very great uproar and a rescue apprehended, which 'tis thought intimidated Lord Mansfield and the jury. Messrs. Bolton and Archer dined with us this night. A very few houses illuminated, but soon put out by the magistrates."

With the subsequent career of the unhappy man this book has no concern. His fitful and wayward temperament brought trouble upon him from all sides, and his adoption of every new cause was marked by fresh eccentricities. For a time he continued his No-Popery crusade, and stated that the Pope had attempted to have him poisoned; but gradually his enthusiasm for the Protestant cause waned, and he took up other interests. He was constantly troubling the Prime Minister by his indiscreet interference in public affairs, as when he constituted himself the champion of the Dutch Protestants and nearly caused a riot among the sailors. Turning his attention to French politics, he became republican in sympathy, took up the cause of the impostor Cagliostro, of diamond necklace fame, and wrote letters on his behalf in which he libelled Queen Marie Antoinette and the French ambassador. For this offence he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in Newgate, where he spent the rest of his life. The most striking comment on his championship of Protestantism lies in the fact that he ended by abjuring Christianity altogether. Before his last trial he turned Jew, grew a long beard, and devoted himself to the practice of the old Law, repudiating with characteristic fanaticism all Jews who did not carry out to the uttermost the requirements of the law. He died in Newgate of jail-fever on the 1st of November, 1793, one of his last acts being the singing of the republican *Ça ira*. Thus ended a career which has been well summed up by a modern historian in the one sentence: "In his short unhappy life he had done a great deal of harm, and, as far as it is possible to judge, no good whatever".[1]

But while no one will now regret that this deluded enthusiast escaped with his life and liberty, it is impossible not to deplore the fact that justice was dealt to other offenders in such

[1] Justin McCarthy, *History of the Four Georges and William IV.*, chap. lv.

haphazard and indiscriminating fashion. While several insignificant and contemptible persons were punished with transportation or death for their small individual share in the mischief done, the chief instigators of the movement were never brought to the bar. The history of the riots brings out the fact that, in the beginning at least, they had been carefully organised, that lists of Catholic houses marked out for destruction had been prepared and that the rioters knew exactly which streets to attack. Yet those who guided the movement were too clever to show themselves in any overt act. Boys, and even women, were egged on to do damage for which they afterwards paid the full penalty, while those who had devised the mischief went unscathed. It is impossible to read the trials of the rioters without feeling that the wrong persons were in the dock. The majority of the prisoners were in no sense ring-leaders. Seeing destruction going on, they had joined in and taken their share, yet their offence was largely unpremeditated. There is, for instance, the case of the fourteen-year-old boy, Richard Roberts, who was hanged in Bow Street for his share in pulling down the house of Sir John Fielding. Standing on the scaffold the lad made his little speech, said "that he was never before guilty of any bad crime; nor did he think or know the danger his life was in when he committed that for which he suffered," and so was turned off by the hangman.[1]

Burke did his best to stop the executions, but pleaded and protested in vain. "I pray," he wrote,[2] "that it may be recollected that the chief delinquents have hitherto escaped; and very many of those who are fallen into the hands of justice are a poor thoughtless set of creatures very little aware of the nature of their offence. None of the list-makers, the assemblers of the mob, the directors and arrangers, have been convicted. The preachers of mischief remain safe, and are wicked enough not to feel for their deluded disciples; no, not at all."

But the Government, so contemptibly weak before, was now inflexible, and the executions went on. Two women were hanged on Tower Hill, two cripples in Bloomsbury Square, and more lads were put to death on the portable gallows that had

[1] *Universal Magazine*, 1780.

[2] *Some Additional Reflections on the Executions*, *Works* (1834 edition), ii., 418.

been provided so that in every case the criminal might suffer on the scene of his crime. Thus during July and August there was a melancholy succession of trials and executions and transportations, and it was not till autumn came that London was allowed to forget the disturbances. With the acquittal of Lord George Gordon in the following spring the last danger of any recrudescence was at an end.

So the autumn brought tranquillity. It was the last autumn of Bishop Challoner's life, yet of these last months we know nothing except that he remained at No. 25 Gloucester Street, tended by the devoted care of his priests, Joseph Bolton and John Lindow.[1] On the Feast of St. Michael he entered on his ninetieth year and from this time a silence falls around him. There are no letters, no papers which speak of him, only the record of one solitary confirmation on the 5th of October. It was the last entry in that list of confirmations which he had kept throughout the forty years of his episcopate, and which shows that 10,000 Catholics had during that period received that Sacrament at his hands.

In his latter conferences with his clergy, Milner tells us, "he dwelt much on the subject of death, and the necessity of being always prepared for that great event; intimating that his own dissolution was at hand, and lamenting, with unfeigned sentiments of contrition and humility, that he had not served God better, and been more assiduous in laying in a store of good works against the day of eternity".[2]

Of the manner in which he spent his last Christmas there is no trace. For many years he had been accustomed to celebrate the feast at the Sardinian Chapel, but there is no record of his preaching there after the riots or of his keeping Christmas

[1] This house, in which Bishop Challoner died, no longer exists. It was pulled down some years ago, with the two adjoining houses, to make way for the school now occupying the site where numbers 24, 25 and 26 Gloucester Street formerly stood. The numbering of the street is the same now as it was then, numbers 1 to 23 being on the right of the street, going from Holborn to Queen Square, and the remaining numbers, being on the left, run from Queen Square back to Holborn. Thus Dr. Challoner's house was the last but one on the left-hand side, and was thus sufficiently near Queen Square to bear out the statement in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (li. 47), that the bishop died in Queen Square.

[2] *Life of Challoner*, p. 48. One little work, *The True Principles of a Catholic*, has been ascribed to this year, but it was not written by the Bishop, and there is no reason to attribute it to him.

there. On the 30th of December Mr. and Mrs. Mawhood came to make their confessions to him, and this is the last recorded act of his ministry.

On Wednesday, 10th January, he sat down to dinner as usual with his priests, and talking with them as his custom was, he showed no sign of illness. But just as he ceased eating, his right hand suddenly fell from the table, and Mr. Bolton, perceiving that something was amiss, rose from his place. The Bishop's head sank on his right shoulder, but he was able to utter the word "Palsy," and to bring forth with his left hand a piece of paper which he put into Mr. Bolton's hand. Pointing to his pocket, in which lay some money which had that morning been given to him for the poor, he murmured "Charity". It was his last spoken word.

His priests laid him in his bed and sent for medical assistance, but his time was at hand and no human power could prolong his life. "Almost immediately after he had declared what was his disorder," writes Barnard, "the Palsy not only seized all his right side, but also affected his tongue in such a manner, that he was not able to utter another intelligible word; yet he retained the use of his reason to the very last, and the bystanders could evidently perceive by his signs, that he was convinced his time was come: and that his whole soul was occupied on God."

Twice before, he had set himself to meet death,—now it was actually upon him, and he was to enforce the lesson of his own words: "how true it is that the death of such as have served God in good earnest, is indeed both precious in the sight of God and edifying in the eyes of men". Speaking of the death of the just, he had spoken of that holy confidence which he now showed. "With what willingness does such a Christian as this leave this world! What peace and tranquillity does he find in his soul from the testimony of a good conscience! How joyfully does he fling himself into the arms of his tender Father, who, he is well assured, will never reject his loving children, that cast their whole care upon him!" And, a little later, speaking of the help God gives to His servants at the moment of death, he adds: "He protects them in that critical hour under the shadow of his wings: that they may be able to say with the psalmist, (Ps. xxii.) *Though I should walk in the*

midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils, for Thou art with me". So he lay all through Wednesday evening and night in silent communion with God. "Though unable to speak," wrote Dr. Milner, "his lips were observed to move, which indicated that his mind was absorbed in God by prayer."

On Thursday morning, Mrs. Mawhood and her daughter, Dorothy, not knowing that the bishop had suffered a stroke, called on Mr. Bolton, who told her what had happened. She was allowed to see the bishop, and that evening her husband wrote in his diary an account which is here reproduced in full, as it supplements the accounts given by the bishop's biographers:—

"Mrs. Mawhood and Dozy called to invite Mr. Bolton to our house, he acquainted them that our good Bishop Chanoler[1] was taken ill of a Palsy at Dinner Yesterday. As he was putting the last bit in his mouth, Mr. Bolton observed his hand to drop, on which he got up to assist the Bishop who only said 'Tis the Palsy,' and immediately with the other hand brought out a piece of paper which he put into Mr. Bolton's hands and spoke no more. They put him to bed and Mr. Nelson the apothecary first see him, Douglass being from home. However he came soon. He, Drs. Tye and Savage now attend him. Mrs. Mawhood was permitted to see ye Bishop. After, I went and also see him, and I think him very near his end. In the evening Mr. Walker, writing-master, drank tea and supped; he see Mr. Bolton who says the Bishop is rather better having been given some nourishment by Mr. Douglass."[2]

But the slight improvement was but a flicker of strength before the end. Cold sweats followed by lethargic intervals had occurred persistently from the time of the first seizure, and the bishop's strength gradually ebbed away.

Yet he gave signs of retaining consciousness and of understanding what went on around him. Thus he lay quietly and without a death agony, till shortly after midnight, when without any struggle his soul went forth to God.

It was not yet one o'clock on Friday, 12th January, 1781.

[1] Mr. Mawhood always spells the name thus.

[2] This Mr. Douglass, the apothecary, was brother of the Rev. John Douglass, who in 1790 succeeded Bishop Talbot as Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

Dr. Challoner had left the Bishops James and Thomas Talbot as his executors, and it was on them that the responsibility for the last arrangements rested. His will, which had been made nearly five years before, was short and simple.[1] In accordance with the devout old custom which lingered on among Protestants as well as Catholics till comparatively recent times, he began: "I bequeath my soul to God, putting my whole trust in His infinite goodness and mercy and in the merits of Jesus Christ, His Son, my only Saviour and Redeemer". Then the will continues: "And my body I bequeath to the earth to be buried in as private a manner, and with as little expences as possible, by my worthy and much honoured friends, the Honourable James Talbot, Esquire, and the Honourable Thomas Talbot, Esquire, whom I appoint Executors of this my Will".

In some private instructions to the two brothers—instructions referred to in the will, but not included in it, or admitted to probate,—he makes provision for Masses to be offered for his soul. It is interesting to notice how in this paper, written in his own hand, his thoughts turn to his old *Alma Mater* of Douay: "I should have been glad by the example of my predecessors to have left a legacy to our Alma Mater in token of my affection and gratitude, as also to our other English houses; but my narrow circumstances would not permit it. For the same reason I could not appoint a distribution of a guinea each as my predecessors did, to all approved priests in and about London. But I beg that a guinea may be sent to every public chappel for prayers [*i.e.* Masses] for my poor soul. As also that every one of my brother bishops would accept of one guinea each. As likewise my good friends, Mr. H. T. Blount, Dr. Charles Howard, senior, Mr. Ger. Shaw, Mr. John Dunn, Mr. John Lindow, Mr. Joseph Bolton, Mr. Joseph Syers and Mr. Richard Kendal."

The rest of his small personal property is disposed of in his will in the simplest terms. Bishop James Talbot is to take all sums of money standing in his name, a bequest under which all the diocesan property passed to the new vicar apostolic.

[1] See Appendix H for the full text of the Will, and the Instructions to the Executors.

Bishop Thomas Talbot is to have two guineas for a ring, "and as many of my books as he shall please to choose". To the old and faithful landlady, Mrs. Mary Hanne, with whom he had lived so many years, he leaves all the furniture, including "my clock on the stairs, my bed, my two great bureaus, my pictures and prints". A little instance of his thoughtfulness for others is given in the legacy of two guineas to the maid-servant who should be in Mrs. Hanne's service at the time of his death. Lastly he remembers his nuns at Hammersmith, and gives them "my four silver candlesticks and the silver spoons I had from Mr. B. Petre, as also the large precious stone, a Beryl or Aqua Marina, given me by Mrs. Evit".

In the instructions to the executors he deals with various Church funds, and also makes some further legacies which it would have been imprudent to insert in a will which would have to be admitted to probate in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Thus he says: "I bequeath also to B. James Talbot my golden pixis, my large chalice and paten given by Lady Webb, as also the chalice and paten which belonged to Bp. Petre, my remonstrance and thurible; with all my pontifical ornaments, mitres, golden crosses, rings, Relicks etc., with my two best vestments viz. the workt fine white vestment and the best black. N.B. There is another large chalice and paten in my possession, which was given by Mr. Shaw for the use of the clergy, and some lesser ones belonging also to the clergy."

He also leaves to Bishop Talbot his proprietary rights in the Convent School at Hammersmith, as well as all books, manuscripts and papers. Unsold copies of his own works in the hands of his publisher are to be sold for the benefit of the poor.

The personal poverty in which he lived is shown by the clause from which we may gather that, apart from the annual income of £80 which belonged to him as vicar apostolic, his whole fortune was some £250. "As I believe," he writes, "the money you will find of mine (in a little private drawer in the right hand in my mahogany bureau) will fall very short of answering my funeral expenses, debts and legacies: what may be wanting must be drawn out of the hands of the Procurator of Douay College (who acknowledges in February 1776 to have in his hands of mine 253^{ll} 14^{sh} 5^{d}). The residue that shall

remain in his hands I desire may be all dedicated and applied for the education of youths at our *alma mater* for the London Mission, at the nomination of my successor, or those he shall appoint."

Such in brief outline were the testamentary dispositions of the bishop, who died as he had lived, owning little but what he held for the use of others.

It would have been natural to have buried him with his predecessors, Bishops Giffard and Petre, who rested together in the same vault in St. Pancras' Church-yard, but a different arrangement was made at the earnest request of Bishop Challoner's friend, Mr. Briant Barrett of Milton, who was devotedly attached to the bishop, and desired to have his remains laid in his own family vault.[1] This arrangement was carried into effect. In those times the actual burial-service had to be read by the Anglican minister, so that all Catholic rites were performed before the coffin was taken to the church-yard. We do not know what was done at the little house in Gloucester Street, but a mortuary bill, a facsimile of which is reproduced in these pages, informs us of the solemn dirge and requiem, four times repeated, which took place at the various embassies. The Bavarian, Portuguese, Neapolitan and Sardinian chapels were those selected, as the French and Spanish chapels were closed, owing to the fact that England was then at war with those countries.

There is no account of the way in which Bishop Challoner's body was carried from London to the little Berkshire village where Mr. Barrett's home lay, and where during life he had been a welcome visitor. So out of the world is Milton that it has changed little during a century, and it must have looked much the same as it does now, on the day when the velvet-covered coffin was slowly brought up the straggling village street composed of ancient, low, timbered cottages. Standing back a little to the left is the small square-towered village church, consisting of chancel and nave with a single aisle,—now all much restored, but the whole then, as now, surrounded by quaint high hedges amid a setting of trees. Close to the entry into the

[1] He is called "Brian" by Milner and "Bryan" by Butler, but the name is given as above in Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

church-yard—a typical English God's Acre—are the great iron entrance gates of Milton House, from which a wide carriage drive sweeps round to the left through an old-world garden with its lawn sloping down to a tranquil pool of water, all being encircled by a background of elm-trees and shrubberies. One old wide-spreading cedar must have been there in the bishop's days. Half concealed in plantations lie stabling and offices, adding a touch of warm colour in the mellowed red of the old brick-work. The house itself is a solid, square Queen Anne mansion with Georgian wings, not beautiful but suggestive of ease and comfort.

In one of these wings Mr. Barrett had built a chapel which is to-day in much the same state as in the eighteenth century, and is of extreme interest as an instance of a domestic chapel of that age. The family still preserve the account book, which not only records the expenses connected with the building, but testifies to the personal interest that Mr. Barrett took in his work, and shows that the carving and ornamentation had all been executed in the neighbourhood under his own supervision. Quite early in the reign of George III. a revival of interest in Gothic architecture began to show itself, and though Dr. Milner's chapel at Winchester is said to be the first Catholic attempt at a Gothic building, Mr. Barrett's chapel, which was considerably earlier in date, was an endeavour after Gothic in ornamentation. In this chapel the bishop had often celebrated Mass, and in it are still preserved the missal with his name written in it by his own hand, the chalice and vestments he used, a relic of Holy Cross which once belonged to him, and a violet cassock of simple and poor material which he wore. We do not know whether the remains of the bishop were brought to rest even for a night in this chapel, or whether the black velvet-covered coffin with its metal crucifix and emblems of death lay here while the Requiem Mass was celebrated and the last rites of the Church were performed. In the circumstances of those times it is, perhaps, hardly likely; for so completely had Catholics been obliged to sever their own funeral rites from the actual burial service, that the custom of having the coffin present at the Requiem and Dirge does not seem to have been revived in England till several years later. There is no account of what took place at the burial save the curiously



The Chapel at Milton House.

worded, yet altogether kindly and sympathetic entry of the Anglican Rector in his Church Registers.

From this we know that the coffin was carried into the village church on Monday, 22nd January, where the Church of England burial service was read over it by the Reverend James George Warren, then Rector of the Parish. Yet Dr. Challoner was buried as a Catholic bishop. He had been obliged to live in secrecy and hiding, disguised as a layman, and keeping the knowledge of his sacred office from all except his own flock. But now the need for concealment was over and gone; and on the coffin-plate the inscription stood:—

RIGHT REVD DOCTOR
RICHARD CHALLONER
BISHOP OF DEBRA
DIED JAN. 12, 1781, AGED 90.
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

And the clergyman wrote in his register: "Anno Domini 1781, January 22. Buried the Reverend Richard Challoner, a Popish Priest and Titular Bishop of London and Salisbury, a very pious and good man, of great learning and extensive abilities."[1]

Dr. Talbot, in announcing Bishop Challoner's death to his flock, wrote: "we have lost one who manifestly led the life of an angel," and Milner, preaching at Winchester on the Sunday after the bishop's death, said: "When on every occasion I represent Bishop Challoner as a saint, I say no more of him now after his death than all who knew him have said of him during his life".

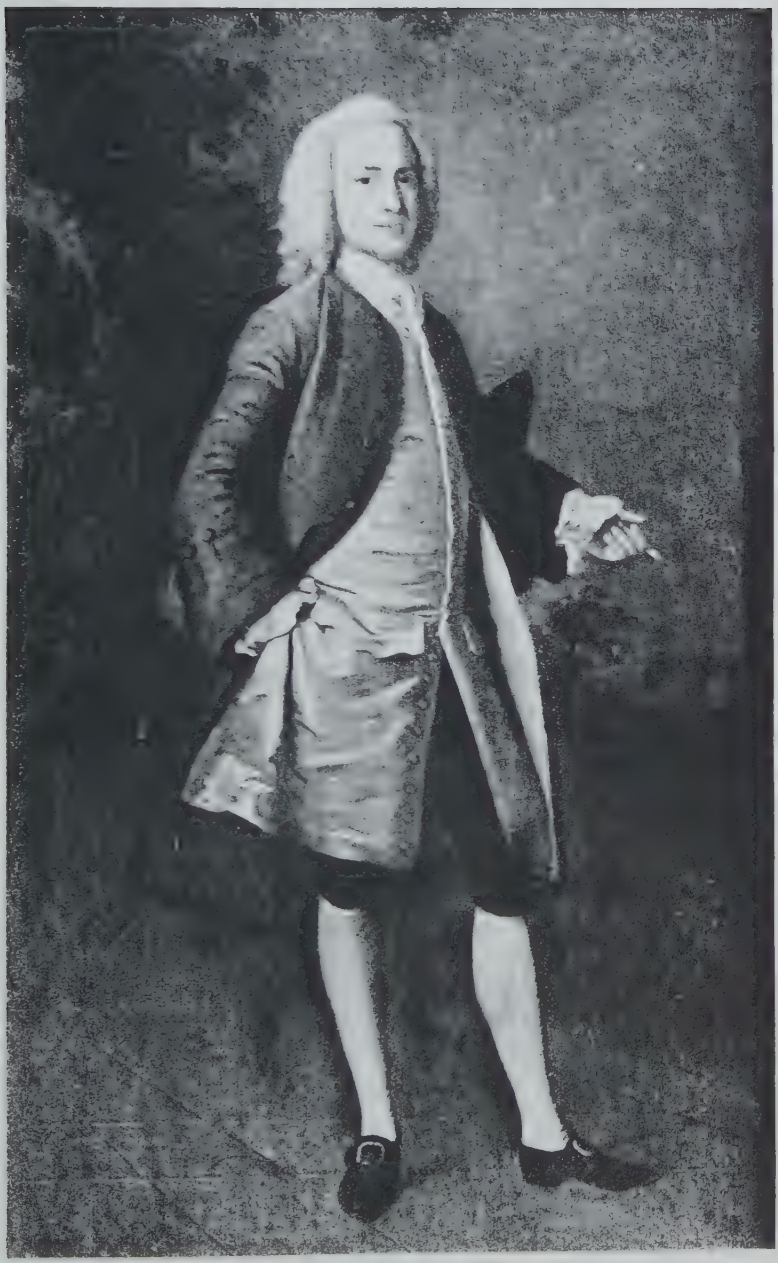
And this belief, common to all English Catholics of that time, found immediate expression in an unprecedented and unusual manner. For, from the first, Bishop Challoner was regarded with a veneration which found expression in the title that was given him as it were spontaneously and on all sides. The word "Venerable" is properly and technically applied to

[1] The curious addition of the word Salisbury is probably due to the fact that Milton is in the diocese of Salisbury, and Mr. Warren, knowing that Mr. Barrett regarded Dr. Challoner as his own bishop, drew the deduction that, as his jurisdiction extended to that neighbourhood, he must be Catholic Bishop of Salisbury as well as of London.

those servants of God the process of whose beatification has been formally introduced with the view to their ultimate canonisation by the Church. Yet, as if by common consent, the Catholics of 1781 spoke of their prelate as "The Venerable Bishop Challoner". In the funeral notice which we have reproduced, in the mortuary cards desiring prayers for his soul, on the title-pages of the later editions of his works, in conversation and in books this title of reverence was given to him. And as those who knew him and the men of his own generation gradually passed away, the same tradition of his sanctity was handed down to the Catholics who came after. They profited by his writings and treasured the memory of his holiness. As time went on the details of his career were obscured and forgotten, but his name and his books were kept in living remembrance.

And when the days of the Restoration of the Hierarchy came, the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster reminded his people of all that they owed him :—

"Of the truly venerable, learned and saintly Dr. Challoner, it would be both unjust and ungrateful were any English Catholic to speak in terms other than of profound admiration and sincere respect. He has alone furnished us with a library of religious works, the privation of which would create a void, not easily to be filled up by many other men's writings. The catechism from which we learnt the first rudiments of our faith, that by which we early became acquainted with sacred history, or versed in controversial discussion, the prayer-book with which we have been most familiar, the meditations which have afforded daily instructions to us in families and in communities, many of our most solid and most clear works of controversy, the charming records of our fathers in the faith, the missionary priests, the martyrology of our ancient Church and many other works, we owe to this really great and good man ; and we know not what we should have done, or what we should have been without them. He supplied, in fact, almost the entire range of necessary or useful religious literature for his Catholic fellow-countrymen ; and that at a time when such a supply must have been truly as a boon from heaven. Yes, and at a time when such works were not published without some personal risk and danger. Far be it from us, immensely inferior as we feel our-



Briant Barrett.

selves, in every good quality to this holy bishop, to impair his honour or speak disparagingly of his merits. Our only surprise and regret is that we Catholics of this country have never thought of expressing our obligations to him by some monument to his memory, now that we may safely proclaim our feelings as well as our religion." [1]

These words, written in the year 1842, were explicitly confirmed by the writer eleven years later when as Archbishop of Westminster he republished them with the added note: "I feel it a duty to say, that time and observation have only confirmed this my estimate of Bishop Challoner's great merits and virtues".[2]

At Bishop Challoner's death, the administration of his vicariate passed to other hands. His work there was done. A critical time was beginning for the Church, and his eyes had already seen signs of coming trouble. It is not likely that even he could have averted the contest between the bishops and the laity that was to come. But he was not called upon to take part in that struggle. His duty had been to lead his people over the dreary desert that lay between the Red Sea of martyrdom and the Promised Land of toleration. It was for Josue to fight the battles that were to win their full inheritance. Like another Moses he looked on it from afar, and went to his rest, content to have been the guide unto the entering in. In his written word he had left them the Law, and they felt his influence abiding among them in the books he had given them and in the memory of his name. How he has helped them and the Catholic Church in England by his living intercession before the throne of God may be imagined, but will not be known till the secrets of all hearts be revealed. It may well be that the time will come when his books will be no longer used, but surely his name will be in everlasting remembrance as long as the history of the Catholic Church in this land remains to be read by man.

[1] *Dublin Review*, No. 26 (vol. xiii.), On Prayer and Prayer-books, Nov., 1842.

[2] *Essays on Various Subjects*, vol. i., p. 426, London, 1853.

APPENDIX A.

The following is the text of the two Oaths which Challoner took on becoming an *alumnus* of the English College at Douay. (See Vol. I., p. 21.)

Forma Juramenti.

Ego Ricardus Challoner Collegii Anglorum Duacensis Alumnus considerans divina erga me beneficia et illud imprimis quo me ex patria haeresi laborante eduxit, et Ecclesiae suae Catholicae membrum effecit, cupiensque tantae Dei misericordiae non penitus me ingratum praebere, statui totum me divino ejus famulatui in quantum possum pro fine hujus Collegii exequendo offerre; et promitto juroque Omnipotenti Deo me paratum esse animo ac futurum semper, quantum sanctissima Ejus gratia me adjuverit, ut suo tempore sacros ordines suscipiam, et in Angliam ad proximorum lucrandas animas revertar, quotiescunque et quandocunque Superiori hujus Collegii pro sui instituti ratione illud mihi praecipere visum fuerit in Domino. Interim vero dum hic vivo, promitto me quiete et pacifice victurum et Collegii institutiones regulasque pro meo virili observaturum.

Formula Juramenti.

Ad præscriptum Brevis Alexandri P. P. VII. præstandi a quolibet alumno Collegiorum Pontificiorum.

Ego Ricardus Challoner filius Ricardi et Gratiae Challoner diœcesis Cicestrensis plenam habens instituti hujus Collegii notitiam, legibus et constitutionibus ipsius, quas juxta Superiorum explicationem amplector, me sponte subjicio, easque pro posse observare promitto.

Insuper spondeo et juro, quod dum in hoc Collegio permanebo et postquam ab eo quocumque modo, sive completis sive non completis studiis, exiero, nullam Religionem, Societatem aut Congregationem Regularem, sine speciali Sedis Apostolicæ licentia, vel S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, ingrediar neque in earum aliqua professionem emittam.

Spondeo pariter et juro, quod volente S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide statum Ecclesiasticum amplectar, et ad omnes sacros,

etiam presbyteratus, ordines, cum Superioribus visum fuerit, promovebor.

Item voveo et juro, quod sive Religionem ingressus fuero, sive in statu sæculari permansero, si intra fines Europæ fuero, quolibet anno, si vero extra quolibet biennio, mei ipsius meique status, exercitii et loci, ubi moram traxero, S. Congregationem de Propaganda Fide certiorabo.

Voveo præterea et juro quod jussu praedictæ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide sine mora in provinciam meam revertar, ut ibi perpetuo in divinis administrandis laborem meum ac operam pro salute animarum impendam, quod etiam præstabo si cum praedictæ Sedis licentia Religionem, Societatem, aut Congregationem Regularem ingressus fuero, et in earum aliqua professionem emisero.

Denique voveo et juro, me praedictum juramentum ejusque obligationem intelligere et observaturum juxta declarationes factas a Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide et Brevi Apostolico roboratas sub die 20 Julii 1660.

Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia.

APPENDIX B.

TESTIMONY OF THE PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS OF DOUAY IN FAVOUR OF DR. WITHAM.

(See Vol. I., p. 45.)

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Dñe.

Cum ad nos fuerit perlatum Presbyterum quendam, qui non ita pridem ab hoc Collegio offensus recessit, gravibus quibusdam criminationibus cum alios nonnullos Collegii hujus superiores, tum maxime Praesidem ipsum dignissimum insectari. Cumque verisimile admodum sit rumores hujuscemodi ad Excellentiae Vestrae aures posse perduci: Idcirco Officii nostri esse duximus hac in re Veritati et Innocentiae testimonium perhibere, prout a nobis postulat aequitatis ratio. Excellentiae itaque vestrae persuasum esse cupimus; idque praesentibus Litteris testamur, Eximium Dominum Robertum Witham quatuor his annis Collegium hoc optime administrasse; Fidei zelum et Apostolicae Sedis reverentiam verbo et exemplo studiose inculcasse; Alumnorum pietatem fovisse; disciplinae invigilasse; studia pro viribus promovisse; Speciatim verò Sobrietatem et Temperantiam diligenter coluisse; et aliis non exemplo solum sed et crebris sermonibus commendasse. Adeo ut non sine gravi stupore et admiratione audierimus Intemperantiae Crimen tali viro potuisse imponi; cum hujusmodi excessus nullum unquam in Ipso vestigium quisquam nostrûm notare potuerit. Quod autem ad alios quosdam superiores attinet, quibus similia etiam crimina non minori injuria allata fuisse intelligimus: Testamur eos et in officiis suis praeclare se gerere; nec sine gravissima injuria potuisse Intemperantiae ullatenus accusari. In quorum omnium fidem [The rest in Mr. Dicconson's hand.] his manu nostra subscripsimus:

E. D [icconson] Vicepraeses ac S. Th. Prof. Rich. Challoner, S. Th. Lic. et Stud. Praef. Josephus Martin S. Th. Lic. et Phil. Professor.

Joannes Manley Sacerdos & Profess.—Hen. Kendall Sac: et Professor.—Franc. Petre alias Squibb, Sacerdos.—Joannes Bishop alias Caseley Sacerdos.—Tho. Hawarden Sacerdos.—Bernardus Turner Professor.—Gul. Green Prof.—Franc. Andrews alias Petre.—Ed: Barlow Theol:—Jac: Maxwell Theol:—Georgius Kendall Theolgus.—Rob. Kendall Theol:—Gul. Maire Theolg.

APPENDIX C.

PETITION OF THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH COLLEGE TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DOUAY ON THE SUBJECT OF DR. CHALLONER'S CANDIDATURE FOR THE CHAIR OF POSITIVE THEOLOGY; WITH THE OFFICIAL REPLY WRITTEN IN THE MARGIN. 1723. (*Westminster Archives.*)

(See Vol. I., p. 54.)

Veu la presente Requeste, les raisons et declarations y enoncées Messieurs les proviseurs du dot de l'Université de cette ville de Douay; declarent que le Sr. Docteur Delcourt deputté en cour par acte de 19: Aoust 1722: n'a jamais en pouvoir de poursuivre la decision de la difficulté suscitée entr^e^ les S^rs^ Challoner et Pharazin pretendans a la chaire Royal du Cathecisme de la ditte Université vacante par la mort de M^r^ le docteur de la Verdure: et que le pouvoir dud: S^r^ Delcourt est borné aux affaires declarées par la Commission dud: jour 19 Aoust 1722 de laquelle copie sera couchée au bas de la presente Requeste, fait en l'assemblé des proviseurs

A Messieurs

Messieurs les proviseurs du dot de l'Université de la ville de Douay.

Vous remontrent tres humblement le President et College des Anglais de cette ville qu'il est venu a leur connoissance que le Sieur Delecourt votre deputé a eu l'addresse de presenter a la Cour une Requete par laquelle il demanderoit qu'il plut au Roy de permettre a Lad^e^ Université de proceder a l'election d'un Recteur et de pourvoir Le Sieur Pharazin de la Chaire vacante du Cathecisme; les Remontrants sont persuadez que le premier chef est un des sujets de la deputation; mais ils ont tout lieu de douter que le deuzieme chef soit compris dans la commission: Le dit Deputé a cependant eu l'addresse de joindre l'un avec l'autre pour que les efforts qu'on pouroit faire pour avoir un nouveau Recteur profitassent au Sieur Pharazin pour luy faire avoir la chaire vacante à l'exclusion de S^r^ Challoner en faveur duquel S^r^ Challoner il paroit que Messieurs les proviseurs devroient plutost se declarer avec d'autant plus de raison qu'il y a deux chaires dans cette faculté dont l'une est appellée *Prima Lectio S. Thomae* et l'autre *2da*

du dot de lad: Université tenue le 6: 9bre 1723
F. B. Delesautre
gr: par ordre.

Lectio Sancti Thomae Que Consequamment il convient que ces chaires de S[t] Thomas soient remplies par des Thomistes pour d'autant plus donner d'emulation aux Ecoliers.

Le Bien et l'avantage que notre College fait a la ville et Université de Douay ne peuvent nous permettre de douter qu' un tel procedé ne soit desapprouvé par vous Messieurs, de plus on affecte de repandre dans le publicque que le S[r] Challoner a renoncé a ses pretentions a ladite chaire, Les Remontrants vous representent que c'est une fausséte manifeste et indigne de toute croyance. Dans ces circonstances les Remontrants ont cru devoir se retirer vers vous

Messieurs

A ce qu'il vous plaise declarer en bas de le placer que c'est sans vos ordres et contre vos intentions que le Sieur Delcourt a demandé au Roy que le Sr Pharazin soit pourveu de la chaire vacante du Cathecisme a l'exclusion du S[r] Challoner; et de vouloir bien en faire escrire a Monseigneur Le Marquis de la Vrilliere Ministre et Secretaire d'Etat afin que le S[r] Delcourt n'emprunte pas votre nom et ne se serve pas de la Commission au dela de vos intentions:

Quoy faisant
&c.

Robert Witham
President

Francois Petre
Procureur.

APPENDIX D.

BISHOP CHALLONER'S LETTER TO DR. CHRISTOPHER STONOR ON THE ADHESION OF THE REGULARS TO THE DECREE.

(See Vol. I., p. 264.)

To

Mr. Christopher Stonor

These.

Febr. 23, *O.S.* 1748-9.

Sir

I had yours of Decb^r^ ye 18th n.s. with the agreeable news of the circular orders, that were to be sent to the Generals &c. Now I must inform you, & our masters in your parts, what the Regulars have done in consequence of those orders. And first that Mr. Joseph Hansby Prov^l^ of the Dominicans, soon after we received yours, came to Mr. White, [Bishop Petre] and declared, by word of mouth, his submission to the decree; producing the orders of his General for so doing. Next Mr. Holmes, the Vicar Prov^l^ of the Friars, by letter dated Jan. 23, 1748-9, after a preamble, giving an account of the circular orders, sent to the Generals, & that his "H' dictis Regularibus non prohibet deducere suas rationes & motiva fundata in contrarium coram S. Cong: neq recusare ea audire & considerare: se tamen velle ut illi Superiores cum suis subditis prius effectivè obediant, & doceant se obedivisse dispositioni Pontificiae jam promulgatae": makes his submission, such as it is, in these words. "Hinc abstrahendo a dilucidatione, an legitimè promulgatum fuerat praedictum Breve Apost. & an aliqui Regularium renuerant sese submittere praedicto Brevi Apost. Declaro me eum mihi subditis *juxta mentem sanctissimi* submittere praedictae dispositioni suae Pontificiae et effectiva obedituros." 3^ly^ Mr. J. Howard, Prov^l^ of the monks of the Province of Canterbury, by letter dated Feb. 3, 1748-9, after acknowledging the orders sent to their Pres^dt^ submits in these words. "Mandato SSmi Patris nuper nobis transmisso humillime obsequentes, declaramus nos et omnes nobis subditos, cum omni quâ par est reverentiâ & obedientiâ, purè & simpliciter recipere omnes Bullas, Brevia Aplica, declarationes & decreta a S. Sede manantia ac speciatim Decretum S. Cong. de prop: fide, & Breve Ap. SS. D.N.P. Ben:

XIV. datum die 2 Sept. 1745. Authenticum obedientiae et submissionis nostrae testimonium R. D. Praesidi nostro generali remisimus ad S. Curiam transmittendum. &c." 4^{ly} Mr. Murphy, Superior of the Padri, [the Jesuits] in the absence of their Prov^{l}, has also lately signified to me, by word of mouth, their submission: adding that they never made any opposition to the decree: as indeed they did not in writing; but otherwise desired as well as the rest the suspension of the execution of it. Lastly Mr. Blyth, Superior of the Discalced Carmes: writes to Mr. White Feb. 6, 1748-9, a strange sort of letter, full of cavils against the manner of promulgating the decree, & of complaints against your Unkle; signifying that he will have recourse (I suppose by way of appeal) ad supremam in terris authoritatem: but that in the mean time, though he has no orders from any superior for so doing, he says, "declaro me cum omni alacritate et animi demissione memet et meos eidem decreto (pendente lite) subjicere, salvo semper superius recurrendi jure, provisoque ut in praejudicium dicti recursus non cedat," which I apprehend to be a very odd kind of submission to an Apostolical Decree. These things we think should be notified to our friends with you, that they may be more fully informed of the true state of our affairs. As to the rest, we hope we shall always shew, by our conduct, that as on the one hand we shall be steady in maintaining the decree, so on the other, we shall behave with that moderation and discretion in regard to the Regulars, of all denominations, as to leave no room for even a plausible pretence of cause to complain. Our sincerest respects wait on Mr. Larker, [Mgr. Lercari] with hearty thanks to him and his for their attention to our affairs. Mr. White [Bishop Petre] is well; & much yours, so is y^{r} cousin Ch. Howard; who desires me to assure you he intends very speedily to answer yours. My compliments to Mr. Lawrence, [Mayes] and where else due, I remain

Ever Yours,

JOHN FISHER. [Bishop Challoner].

P.S.—This day, I received a letter sent in by Mr. Murphy, Deputy Superior of the Padri, dated Febr. 17, O.S. In which he writes thus "we never did refuse to obey the said decree: we did then accept and resolve to obey the said decree & do now accept, and will obey the said decree, *as long as it continues in force.* Salvo jure nostro & recursu." I know not what our Masters will think of this kind of acceptance; which seems to us very equivocal & unsatisfactory.

APPENDIX E.

THE CASE OF THE ENGLISH COLLEGE OF LISBON.

(See Vol. II., p. 115.)

This college which from its first foundation has been of signal service to the English Mission by the number of labourers it has sent over, and the great fruits their labours have produced; has within this last half century been greatly reduced in its temporal estate, & in its funds designed for the bringing up missionaries, partly by occasion of the dreadful havock made by the great earthquake in their house & estate, & partly by divers other great losses they have sustained to the amount of several thousands of pounds, some before the time of that great calamity, others since: which joined with the non paiment of their rents in the city of Lisbon, formerly paid every quarter, but now seven quarters behind hand; joined also with the dearness of all provisions, which of late years have been raised one third in their value, have run the house in debt near one thousand pounds; for which they are obliged to pay interest.

By these misfortunes together with the loss of the rents they had in the townhouse of Paris, as also of all their Actions in the French India company, the college is so far impoverished as to be no longer able to support itself: much less can they now bring up as formerly any number of labourers for the Lord's vineyard (which were never more wanted than in our present distress) except the Divine Goodness shall be pleased to open the hearts of the Catholick nobility & gentry of England, or others whom he has blessed with wealth, & incline them to contribute bountifully to the discharging the house of its load of debt, & to the repairing at least in some measure the losses they have sustained in their funds.

This present melancholy state & situation of their affairs has been lately represented by the superiors of the college to the superiors of the missions in hopes that these would use their best endeavours to procure from the faithful such generous contributions as may effectually secure this seminary of piety & religion from impending ruin, & enable them to carry on the work of God to his greater glory & the salvation of souls, by training up in virtue & learning, accord-

ing to the original design & institution of that college a number of hopeful youths, who may in due time become worthy ministers of God, zealous pastors of souls & truly *apostolical* missionaries.

For these great ends, & for the greater glory of God, we the underwritten, taking greatly to heart the present distressed condition of the aforesaid college of Lisbon, & withal dreading the irreparable loss our mission must sustain if that seminary of labourers in our Lord's vineyard should come to fail, do by these presents earnestly recommend the deplorable state of that house to the charity as well of the Catholick nobility and gentry of England, as of the rest of the faithful, begging of all whose circumstances will allow it to contribute liberally to this great work of rescuing this college from ruin, & restoring it to its former state. A great work indeed both of charity & religion: in which both the glory of God & the salvation of souls call upon all true lovers of God & religion to exert themselves to the best of their power, with a most assured hope that the great Lord for whose sake they furnish, & to whose greater glory they direct these their contributions, will not fail most amply to reward them, even here by encreasing their store, & hereafter by giving himself to them in a glorious Eternity.

Ricardus Deboren.
Jacobus Birthan.

APPENDIX F.

THE CATHOLIC RELIEF ACT, 1778.

(See Vol. II., p. 206.)

AN Act for relieving His Majesty's Subjects professing the Popish Religion from certain Penalties and Disabilities imposed on them by an Act, made in the Eleventh and Twelfth Years of the Reign of King *William* the Third, intituled, *An Act for the further preventing the Growth of Popery.*

WHEREAS it is expedient to repeal certain Provisions in an Act of the Eleventh and Twelfth Years of the Reign of King William the Third, intituled, An Act for the further preventing the Growth of Popery whereby certain Penalties and Disabilities are imposed on Persons professing the Popish Religion; may it please your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That so much of the said Act as relates to the apprehending, taking or prosecuting, of Popish Bishops, Priests, or Jesuits; and also so much of the said Act as subjects Popish Bishops, Priests, or Jesuits, and Papists, or Persons professing the Popish Religion, and keeping School, or taking upon themselves the Education or Government or Boarding of Youth, within this Realm, or the Dominions thereto belonging, to perpetual Imprisonment; and also so much of the said Act as disables Persons educated in the Popish Religion, or professing the same, under the Circumstances therein mentioned, to inherit or take by Descent, Devise, or Limitation, in Possession, Reversion, or Remainder, any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, and gives to the next of Kin, being a Protestant, a Right to have and enjoy such Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments; and also so much of the said Act as disables Papists, or Persons professing the Popish Religion, to purchase any Manors, Lands, Profits out of Lands, Tenements, Rents, Terms, or Hereditaments, within the Kingdom of England, Dominion

of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed, and makes void all the singular Estates, Terms, and other Interests or Profits whatsoever out of Lands, to be made, suffered, or done, from and after the Day therein mentioned, to or for the Use or Behoof of any such Person or Persons; or upon any Truth or Confidence, mediately, or immediately, for the Relief of any such Person or Persons; shall be, and the same, and every Clause and Matter and Thing herein-before mentioned, is and are hereby repealed.

And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Person and Persons having or claiming any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, under Titles not hitherto litigated, though derived from any Descent, Devise, Limitation, or Purchase, shall have, take, hold, and enjoy, the same, as if the said Act, or any Thing therein contained had not been made; any Thing in the said Act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to affect any Action or Suit now depending, which shall be prosecuted with Effect, and without Delay.

Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any Person or Persons but such who shall, within the space of Six Calendar Months after the passing of this Act, or of accruing of his, her, or their Title, being of the Age of Twenty-one Years, or who, being under the Age of Twenty-one Years, shall, within Six Months after he or she shall attain the Age of Twenty-one Years, or being of unsound Mind, or in Prison, or beyond the Seas, then within Six Months after such Disability removed, take and subscribe an Oath in the words following:

I A.B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King *George* the Third, and Him will defend, to the utmost of my Power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatever that shall be made against His Person, Crown, or Dignity; and I will do my utmost Endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, all Treasons and traiterous Conspiracies which may be formed against Him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support and defend, to the utmost of my Power, the Succession of the Crown in His Majesty's Family, against any Person or Persons whatsoever; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any Obedience or Allegiance unto the Person taking upon himself the Stile and Title of *Prince of Wales*, in the Life-time of his Father, and who, since his Death, is said to have assumed the Stile and Title of *King of Great Britain*, by the name of *Charles the Third*, and to any other Person claiming or pretending a Right to the Crown of these Realms; and I do swear,

that I do reject and detest, as an unchristian and impious Position, That it is lawful to murder or destroy any Person or Persons whatsoever, for or under Pretence of their being Hereticks; and also that unchristian and impious Principle, That no faith is to be kept with Hereticks: I further declare, that it is no Article of my Faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure, the Opinion, That Princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any Authority of the See of *Rome*, or by any Authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any Person whatsoever: And I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of *Rome*, or any other foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this Realm. And I do solemnly, in the Presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, That I do make this Declaration, and every Part thereof, in the plain and ordinary Sense of the Words of this Oath; without any Evasion, Equivocation, or mental Reservation whatever, and without any Dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of *Rome*, or any Person whatever; and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or Man, or absolved of this Declaration, or any Part thereof, although the Pope, or any other Persons or Authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void.

Which Oath it shall be competent to His Majesty's High Court of Chancery, or to any of His Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster, the Courts of Great Sessions within the Principality of Wales and County Palatine of Chester, the Courts of Chancery or Common Pleas within the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and Durham, or to any Court of General or Quarter Sessions of the Peace of any County, Riding, Liberty, City, Borough, Town, or Place, in the Kingdom of England, or in the Principality of Wales, to administer, and they are hereby required to administer the same accordingly: Of the taking and subscribing of which Oaths a Register shall be kept and preserved, in the Manner prescribed by the Laws now in being requiring Oaths from Persons taking Offices or Employments.

Provided always, and it is hereby enacted and declared, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any Popish Bishop, Priest, Jesuit, or Schoolmaster, who shall not have taken and subscribed the above Oath in the above Words before he shall have been apprehended or any Prosecution commenced against him.

FINIS.

APPENDIX G.

CATHOLIC HOUSES ATTACKED DURING THE GORDON RIOTS.

(See Vol. II., p. 262.)

[Westminster Diocesan Archives (1776-1780).]

A List of R. C. Houses Damaged or Destroyed during the Gordon Riots.

Mr. Langdale	Holborn Bridge & nine adjoining	Distiller	10
Do.	Holborn & two do.		3
Twenty-two setts of Chambers in Barnards Inn			3
French	East Lane	Merchant	1
Marlo	Moorfields	Silk Weaver	1
Cox	Gt. Queen St.	Brewer	1
Walwin	Five foot Lane Southwark	Leather Dresser	1
Doughty	Devonshire Street		1
Charlton	Coleman Street	Druggist	1
Neal	Prince's St. New Turn-Stile	Shoemaker	1
Bergers	New Turn-Stile	Chandler's Shop	1
Brown	Maze, Southwark	Victualler	1
Abercromby	New St. Horsley Down	Broker	1
Conolly	Tooley St.	Victualler	1
Muliner	Poultry	Pastry Cook	1
Dowdle	Princes Sqre.		1
Connor	Whitechapel	Victualler	1
Virtue	Bethnal Green	Weaver	1
Dowlan	Spittlefields	Labourer	1
Durry	do.	Silk clouder	1
Hubbard & Donovan	New Broad St.	Ship Brokers	1
Fogg	Spittlefields	Weaver	1
Flanagan	Wheeler St.	Broker	1
Turenne	do.	do.	1
Thompson	Hounsditch	do.	1
Walsh	Moorfields		1
Jarret	Peartree St.	Watch Engraver	1

Lyon	Bunhill Row		1
McCarthy	Featherstone St.	Baker	1
Mrs. Collon	White Cross St.	Potatoe Dealer	1
Mrs. Lynch	Golden Lane	Pawnbroker	1
Murphy	do.	Victualler	1
King	Little Chapel St. Soho		1
Waterhouse	Little Russel St.		1
Shomberg	Woodstock St.		1
A private Chapel	in Moorfields & two adjoining houses		2
do. do.	in Virginia St. & one house		1
do. do.	in East Lane, Bermondsey & one house		1
Chapel of the Sardinian Ambassador			
do. Bavarian	do.		
Welch	Long Lane Southwark	Victualler	1
Cooper (widow)	Kent St.		1
Primory	do.	do.	1
Lacy	do.		1
Dunn	Archer St. Old St.	do.	1
Bradbury	Golden Lane	do.	1
			58

APPENDIX H.

BISHOP CHALLONER'S WILL.

(See Vol. II., p. 275.)

EXTRACTED FROM THE PRINCIPAL REGISTRY OF THE PROBATE DIVORCE AND ADMIRALTY DIVISION OF THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE

IN THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN.—I RICHARD CHALLONER of the Parish of St. George the Martyr Queens Square Gentleman do make this my last Will and Testament revoking and annulling all and every other Will and Testament by me at any other time heretofore made 1st. I bequeath my soul to God putting my whole trust in his infinite goodness and Mercy and in the merits of Jesus Christ his Son my only Saviour and Redeemer and my body I bequeath to the earth to be buried in as private a manner and with as little expences as possible by my worthy and much honoured friends the Honourable James Talbot Esqr and the Honble Thomas Talbot Esqr whom I appoint EXECUTORS of this my last Will and Testament 2. As to my worldly possessions I bequeath to the said much honoured James Talbot Esqr all the sums or moneys that stand in my name or in the name of others entrusted by me in any of the publick funds or stocks with the interest due therefrom at the time of my death 3. I bequeath to the Honble Thomas Talbot Esqr two guineas for a ring and as many of my books as he shall please to choose 4. I bequeath to Mrs. Mary Hanne my Landlady my clock on the Stairs my bed my two great Bureaus my pictures and prints and all my household furniture cloaths and other goods in my apartment plate and books only excepted and I release to her all that she may stand indebted to me by Bond or otherwise at the time of my death I give also two guineas to the Maid Servant that shall be with her at the time of my decease if I die in her house 5. I bequeath to the Boarding School of Mrs. Frances Gentil at Hammersmith my four silver candlesticks and the silver spoons I had from Mr. B. Petre as also the large precious stone a Beryl or Aqua Marina given me by Mrs. Evit. The rest and residue of all my goods chattels and personal estate whatso-

ever after my debts are duly discharged I give and bequeath to my two executors above named to be disposed of according to what instructions they shall find written in my own hand and signed by me—RICHARD CHALLONER (LS)—Signed sealed declared and delivered for my last Will and Testament this 10th day of May 1776 in the presence of witnesses—JOSEPH BOLTON—JOSEPH SYERS—JOHN LINDOW.

16th *Jan.* 1781

APPEARED PERSONALL The Honourable JAMES TALBOT one of the Executors named in the last Will and Testament of Richard Challoner late of the Parish of Saint George the Martyr in the County of Middlesex deceased and made oath that the Instructions mentioned and referred to in the last Will and Testament of the said deceased hereto annexed bear date prior to the said Will and this Deponent is very certain that the said deceased did not mean or intend to have the same proved therewith as the same are not of a Testamentary nature and he farther saith that the same now remain in his this Deponents hands—JAS TALBOT—Sworn before me Geo Harris Surrogate Prest Rt Dodwell Not Publ.

Proved 16th
January 1781
Fos 7 H.J.T.
10. Webster.

INSTRUCTIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR MY EXECUTORS.

1. I should have been glad by the example of my predecessor to have left a legacy to our alma mater in token of my affection and gratitude, as also to our other English houses; but my narrow circumstances would not permit it. For the same reason I could not appoint a distribution of a guinea each, as my predecessor did, to all approved priests in and about London. But I beg that a guinea may be sent to every publick chappel for prayers for my poor soul. As also that every one of my brother bishops would accept of one guinea each. As likewise my good friends, Mr. H. T. Blount, Dr. Charles Howard sen^{r}, Mr. Ger. Shaw, Mr. John Dunn, Mr. John Lindow, Mr. Joseph Bolton, Mr. Joseph Syers & Mr. Richard Kendal.

2. As I believe the money you will find of mine (in a little private drawer on the right hand in my mahogany bureau) will fall very short of answering my funeral expenses, debts and legacies: what may be wanting must be drawn out of the hands of the Procurator of Douay College (who acknowledges in Feb^{ry} 1776 to have in his hands of mine 253^{11}-14^{sh}-5). The residue that shall remain in his hands I desire may be all dedicated and applied for the education of youths at our alma

mater for the London Mission at the nomination of my successor or those he shall appoint.

3. My books, manuscripts, & all my papers I leave to the disposal of B. James Talbot desiring that he would give to the brethren of our conference such books as he may judge proper for them or their poor, particularly the books of devotion and controversial tracts; and also that he would gratify any of my friends that are desirous of it with the choice of one or two of my books. And as to the books in quires which I have either in the hands of Mr. Coghlan, or at home; if any money can be raised by the sale of them; I desire it may be given to the poor.

4. I bequeath also to B. James Talbot my golden pixis, my large chalice and paten given by Lady Webb, as also the chalice and paten which belonged to Bp. Petre, my remonstrance and thurible; with all my pontifical ornaments, mitres, golden crosses, rings, Relicks etc. with my two best vestments *viz.* the workt fine white vestment and the best black. N.B. There is another large chalice & paten in my possession, which was given by Mr. Shaw for the use of the clergy and some lesser ones belonging also to the Clergy.

5. The management of the episcopal fund (an account of which I have in a particular book) descends after my death to Bp. James Talbot, with a yearly salary of 80^{11} out of it. Also the disposal of Mr. Basil Bartlett's benefaction (now reduced to 40^{11}-16^{s}-0^{d} p. an.) and of ditto's legacy to me of other 40^{11} per an. descends to him (Bp. James Talbot) during his life and to his successors in the London District, when taken out of the secular Clergy, and in default of such sec. Cl. bishop to the London Chapter. See the account of this benefaction & of the uses to which it is to be applied, in a particular book in my bureau markt on the outside *Bartlett.*

6. The propriety also of Hammersmith school & of all that belongs to it after my death descends to Bp. James Talbot who is to receive & manage the yearly income of the same. What this yearly income is may be seen in my book of Accounts p. LXXXVI.

7. There are also in the trust of the Incumbent sur les fossées six Actions, formerly the property of Mrs. Eliot with three billets d'emprunte & a half & one half lottery ticket, destined for the maintenance of Mrs. Mary Bright (deducting two guineas yearly for the manager's trouble) but after her death, the whole is to be at the disposal of the Bp. of the London District.

8. The same Mrs. Eliot dying April 25, 1761 left also by a Codicil to her will to the same Mrs. Mary Bright 24^{11} per annum for her life, to be paid to me or my Executor by her Executor, now Duke of Montague.

9. As to Mr. Crispin's 650ll in the Bank Annuities 1758 after my death my Exr B. James Talbot is to enjoy the income of it for one year & then to dispose of the principal in the following manner: 200ll *for the bishop or superior or the Catholic clergy for the use and maintenance of English Missioners.* 200ll to be applied to the education of poor children; and 100ll or whatever more remains (including what may be found in my purse of Crispin's money) to be distributed into seven parts, one for each of the six Sardinian Chaplains for their respective poor and the seventh for himself for his own poor.

RICHARD CHALLONER.

May 8, 1776.

APPENDIX I.

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF BISHOP CHALLONER.

(See Vol. II., p. 277.)

By the courtesy of Mr. Barrett of Milton House I have been enabled to make a careful examination of the burial-place of Bishop Challoner. With his permission the family vault in Milton parish church was opened on Wednesday, January 9th, 1907, there being present Mr. Barrett, Miss Barrett, Monsignor Ward, the Rev. William Le Grave, D.S.O., and myself.

Access is now obtained to the two vaults under the Church by means of an exterior entrance in the foundations of the South wall. To this door, stone steps, surrounded by a railing, lead down. This entrance is said to have been made at the time when intra-mural burial was prohibited by Act of Parliament, as originally both vaults were reached from the Church. The Barrett vault is the innermost of the two and is entered by an aperture in the partition wall, between them.

The Bishop's coffin lies immediately on the left of this opening, apart from the coffins of the family which occupy the further end of the vault. It is raised from the floor on a low wooden platform. The outer coffin of wood has entirely disappeared except the remains of the lid which now lie on the leaden coffin. This leaden coffin continues in a good state of preservation. The remains of the outer coffin show that it was originally covered with black velvet fastened to the wood by brass-headed nails. On it is a metal crucifix exactly similar to that found on Bishop James Talbot's coffin in the year 1900. There are also fragments of metal ornaments showing a skull and cross-bones. In the centre, but detached from the wood, is lying the copper name-plate inscribed

RIGHT REVD DOCTOR
RICHARD CHALLONER
BISHOP OF DEBRA
DIED JAN. 12, 1781, AGED 90.
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

APPENDIX K.

DR. MILNER'S FUNERAL DISCOURSE ON BISHOP CHALLONER.

A

FUNERAL DISCOURSE

ON THE

DEATH

OF THE VENERABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND

RICHARD CHALLONER,

BISHOP OF DEBORA,

AND

APOSTOLIC VICAR OF THIS DISTRICT;

WHO DIED JANUARY 12, 1781.

PRONOUNCED JANUARY 14, 1781.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1782.

PREFACE.

The Author of the following Discourse is sensible, that he owes an apology to the Public, for presenting them with so hasty and imperfect a performance. The truth is, it was not originally intended for them, being nothing more than the notes which he threw together, over night, to assist him in announcing, on the Sunday immediately following the death of our Venerable Prelate, that melancholy event to a Congregation he served in the country, and in furnishing them with such reflections as he judged suitable to the occasion. These however happening to get abroad, and deriving a value from their subject, which they had not from their own merits, the Author was very early desired to publish them. This however he long refused, hoping that the Subject would have been treated more amply and more ably by some of those who had the happiness of living a long time in a closer society with our deceased Prelate, and that, by this means, justice might have been done in a more extensive manner to such exalted virtues, than it was in his power to do. Perceiving however with regret, that nothing of this sort was likely to take place, and thinking it an injustice to the Public, entirely to with-hold from their notice a character so calculated for their edification; he at last consented that his own feeble Essay should, with the concurrence of due authority, see the light. Persuaded however that in this he has shewn a much greater regard to the reputation of the good Bishop than to his own.

Being willing to make a few additions (which will probably not be displeasing to the Public) the Author was some time deliberating, whether to throw them into the body of the discourse, or to subjoin them by way of notes; but perceiving that the former method would occasion too great a change in the original performance, and would sometimes lead him into matter foreign to its subject, he has adopted the latter.

A FUNERAL DISCOURSE.

Let my Soul die the Death of the Just, and let my latter End be like unto theirs. (Numb. xxiii. 10.)

SUCH are the sentiments that possess my mind, and must naturally arise in yours, whilst I announce to you the death of our late much beloved, and much respected Father in Jesus Christ, the most Reverend and truly pious Richard Challoner, Bishop of Debora, and Apostolical Vicar of this District, who, after a short illness,[1] two days ago went to receive the reward of his long and faithful services in the Lord's vineyard.

Yes, my Brethren, he is gone! and in him you have lost a most zealous and fatherly superior; the cause of religion in this kingdom has lost its brightest ornament, and firmest support; the Church of God in general, has lost one of its most exemplary and apostolical prelates.

In addition to these general subjects of grief, give me leave to mention, on my own account, that I have lost the model to which I looked up for my own conduct in the ecclesiastical state, the counsellor on whose lights I depended for guidance amidst the doubts and difficulties incident to it, the friend and benefactor from whom I expected that protection and assistance in future occurrences which I had experienced in past. For if I have had the advantage of receiving early impressions of piety, of such importance to my own salvation, or if in my sacred character I can have the happiness of contributing in any degree to that of others, it is to the ever-respected deceased I am indebted for these invaluable benefits. This alone might account for the tribute of gratitude I mean to pay to his precious memory in the following discourse. But, my Friends, I have a much more urgent reason, for giving this subject the preference to every other for your pious consideration on this day—a reason that comes home to you all.

It is agreed, that examples of virtue have at all times a much greater influence on our practice than the strongest reasoning, though

[1] The good Bishop was taken ill on Wednesday the 10th of January, and died on Friday the 12th; the first news of both which events were brought from London by the Author, and communicated in the manner that has been seen.

unfortunately they are so much harder to be met with in these depraved days. But when some bright pattern of virtue actually falls within the knowledge of those to whom it is proposed, so that every one is convinced that the character is real, and that they are not amused with a fiction, we may with truth assert that there is not, and cannot be a more powerful spur to virtuous actions. Now such, my Friends, is the example which I have to propose to you at present.—I know indeed it is very usual to magnify the merits of the deceased, as usual as it is to detract from them when living, and I very much fear that after death, we often canonize those in our discourse, on whom God has decided in a very different manner; but when I say that Bishop Challoner was a model of Christian virtue, every breast glows with a conviction of this truth; whatever I can alledge in his commendation will barely answer the idea you have already formed of him; and when on every occasion I represent Bishop Challoner as a saint, I say no more of him now after his death, than all who knew him have said of him during his life.

But how shall I do justice to such a character within the short limits of the remaining discourse? How, it may be asked, am I qualified to attempt the subject at all, who have had so few opportunities, in comparison with others, of becoming properly acquainted with it? I own it is for them who have had the happiness of long living in a state of familiarity with him, of observing his conduct in a greater variety of circumstances, and of recording his sentiments as they fell from him, to do strict justice to his memory; but then for this purpose a large volume would be necessary. However with respect to the present discourse, I must say in general, that it contains nothing which cannot be well supported; that I myself have very frequently seen and conversed with this great and good man, especially during the four last years (and I shall ever esteem it as a favour done me by the Almighty that I have had that advantage). I must further add, that the respect and admiration which from my earliest years I entertained with regard to his sanctity, was always on the encrease; and the more narrowly I searched into his conduct and his views, the less human, and the more divine they ever appeared to me; and that in a variety of business in which I have known him concerned, I never saw him act in any other manner, than I should expect to have seen a Francis of Sales act, or his patron a Vincent of Paul.[1] To begin with that virtue which is the queen of all others,

[1] This zealous Prelate had a particular veneration for St. Vincent of Paul, and always celebrated his festival, which occurs the 19th of July, with singular devotion. He read his life regularly every year, and still found fresh matter for his admiration and devotion in each perusal. He would sometimes attempt to read

and which ought ever to be the characteristic of our sacred ministry: With what an ardent charity, in both its branches, did not the heart of our holy Prelate glow? We may judge of this by his unbounded zeal for the honour of God and the eternal happiness of his neighbour. To speak the truth, he had no other object than these in view in whatever he did; and indeed these were never out of his sight: to the advancement of this sacred cause he gave himself up without reserve; to this his faculties both of body and mind, his strength, his understanding, his tongue, his pen, his prayers, and his tears, were constantly and entirely devoted. That indifference to the objects of sense, and to every thing that engages the attention of the world, which seemed to approach to a degree of apathy in this saint-like old man, gave place to the quickest attention, and to the warmest feelings of youth, whenever the interests of God were concerned, or the salvation of a soul was at stake. Dead to every other impression, how easy was it, by touching upon this string, to agitate his soul to its very centre, and to dissolve all its firmness in a flood of tears? How often in particular has this happened to him in the sacred tribunal of penance, where he has wept for those, who had perhaps never wept for themselves; and taught them, by the greatness of his own grief, the greatness of their spiritual miseries, and the dreadful malice of mortal sin?

Actuated by this holy, but restless flame, nothing seemed too great or arduous that might contribute to the rescuing of souls from the tyranny of Satan, and to the advancement of virtue and the cause of God. Witness those pious institutions for the education of youth, of which he was the life and the principal founder, but which were undertaken and carried on in the worst of times, in defiance of the rude opposition of malice, and the too cautious foresight of worldly wisdom. Indeed his wisdom went upon quite opposite principles to that of the world. He had learned of the saints to consider the violence of opposition raised against any undertaking as a proof of its intrinsic goodness, and a sign how destructive it was likely to prove to the usurped empire of Satan; and he has frequently then testified

passages in the life of this great servant of God to those about him, but his feelings were sure to overpower him on those occasions, and his voice was soon suppressed in a flood of tears. This wonderful saint had been for some time a captive in Africa, where by the force of his pious and edifying behaviour he reclaimed his master from Mahometanism, and returned with him to Europe. He spent the latter part of his life chiefly at Paris, where the odour of his piety is still fresh, and where an incredible number of religious and humane institutions are lasting monuments of the extent of his piety and charity. He died amongst the Fathers of the Mission, the true inheritors of their Founder's spirit, at St. Lazare, in Paris, in the year 1660.—See his life by Abelli, author of the *Sacerdos Christianus*, *Medulla Theologiae*, &c. Collet, the famous Moralist, who was himself one of the Mission, has likewise written his life.

the greatest hopes of the success of his pious designs, when to all human appearance they were the most impracticable. The success of the institutions I before mentioned, in rescuing thousands of souls from a destruction which seemed inevitable, and in grounding them in lessons of true faith and sound morality, is the best proof of the justice of our holy Prelate's reasoning upon this head; and shews that a true zeal, such as aims at God alone, and is actually inspired by him, will not carry us beyond what he himself, who is the disposer of events, will render practicable.

As no object appeared too great for his zeal on one hand, so none appeared too small, or unworthy his attention on the other, which had any relation to the honour of his divine Master, or to the happiness of any fellow-creature. What has he not frequently done and suffered in bringing points to bear which might seem of little consequence, if any thing at all was of little consequence in which God and eternity were concerned? It was the settled maxim of his conduct in the missionary life, a maxim which he likewise recommended to others, that no difficulties were to be avoided, no expence spared—I do not say to save one soul, but to prevent one mortal sin: Life itself he would have thought well employed, or cheaply disposed of, in saving the divine Majesty but from one such affront.[1]

[1] The genuine character and true spirit of persons can be nowhere better discovered than in their familiar letters. I am persuaded that the publication of those of our Prelate would be the best monument that could be erected to his memory. Two of these letters, which happened to fall into my hands, and which tend to exemplify the present subject, are here inserted as specimens of his epistolary stile. They are addressed to a lady who had taken great pains to instruct and form to piety the indigent part of her sex, but who, discouraged by the misconduct of some of those on whom she had bestowed the greatest endeavours, and by the opposition she otherwise met with, had retired to a convent abroad, in order to attend entirely to her own sanctification.

"MADAM,

"I cannot think it is the holy will of our great Master, that you should withdraw yourself from this field, where, with his blessing, you have, during so many years, reaped notable fruit, in rescuing a number of souls from the jaws of Satan; and though some of them may have afterwards fallen, we have had at least the comfort, that by your means a multitude of mortal sins has been prevented, and seeds have been sown, which may produce great fruit another day. Wherefore as I know not any place or calling in the world, wherein you can either do more service to God and your neighbour, or labour more effectually for the salvation of your own soul, than that in which his divine providence has placed you: I beg of you, for his sake, to return amongst us.

"I remain, Madam,

"Your devoted Servant in Christ Jesus,

"RICHARD CHALLONER.

"*July* 7, 1775."

This is a doctrine the world has no conception of, but it is not on that account the less solid or the less serious.

While I am speaking of the zeal of this faithful Pastor, I must not omit his assiduity in preaching the word of God, a duty he never omitted in the worst of times, while an obscure retreat was to be found to shelter his poor audience; and indeed to such obscure retreats has he, at certain times, been driven, to comply with this essential obligation, that the Catacombs where the ancient Christians held their assemblies in times of persecution, were elegant and commodious compared with them. But to conceive the force and the unction with which he announced this sacred word, or to form an idea of the fire, which, through all the frost of age, then darted from his countenance, and animated his weak and emaciated frame, you must, my Brethren, have seen him and heard him, on those occasions; in short he was a quite different man when seated in the chair of truth, and charged with the interests of his divine Master, from what he was at every other time. The circumstance, however, which principally contributed to give that irresistible force to whatever lessons fell from his lips, was the conviction which each of his auditors entertained that they were but the counter-part to his own life and conduct, and that he recommended nothing which he did not *feel* as well as *know*, and had not actually put in practice.

The numerous volumes he has left behind him[1] are of the same stile with his discourses, solid, simple, and persuasive, replete with the soundest reasoning in the controversial part, and with the purest maxims and doctrine in the moral. In short, the character St. Paul gives of his own inspired language, is perfectly applicable to whatever fell from either the lips or the pen of this venerable Prelate. His words are not the *loftiness of speech . . . or the persuasive words of*

"DEAR MADAM,

"The grace, mercy, and peace of God be always with you: We have told you what our thoughts are with relation to his divine will concerning you. We can find no reason for altering our mind: Follow then the will and call of God, without waiting for a commandment from

"Your devoted Servant in Christ,

"R. C.

"*July* 28, 1775."

[1] If it were not known how assiduous he ever was in the discharge of his sacred functions, and how much of his time was constantly taken up with preaching, instructing, administering the sacraments, attending to the various and intricate concerns of his district, and with his prayers and devotions, we might be led to imagine, that he had done nothing else but write, and that his whole life had been devoted to the composition of the numerous works he has left us in defence of the true faith and of sound morality.

(Here follows a list of his writings.)

human wisdom, but the spirit and the power.[1] His writings have this advantage over his preaching, that, together with his memory, they will perpetuate his zealous endeavours in the cause of God to distant times, and acquire him accidental crowns of glory for ages after he has attained the essential happiness of the blessed.

But what has not this active and zealous Pastor undergone, in the course of his long and steady endeavours to advance the cause of God, and to rescue poor bewildered souls from vice and heresy? What has he not suffered from the severity of the laws, which, in the former part of his career were not confined to threats, but frequently executed with abundance of rigour, particularly when he, who was ever considered as the champion of the catholic cause, was the object of them? What again has he not endured from the insolence and fury of an enraged populace, who, to speak only of what has happened within a few months, had taken measures, which, if successful, would probably have ended not only in the loss of his poor property, but that of his life also?[2] Finally, what persecutions has he not gone through from the open malice of the baffled enemies of the faith,[3] and from the secret rancour of those, who, offended with the apostolical severity with which he ever maintained the purity both of faith and morals, have left nothing unattempted to disturb his peace of mind, tarnish his reputation, and defeat his zealous endeavous.

But these I pass over: would we, however, learn where it was he

[1] 1 Cor. ii. v. 1 and 4.

[2] Our Prelate was one of the principal objects at which the frensy of the populace was levelled during the late riots. The poor habitation, in which he was accustomed latterly to preach, was laid in ruins by their fury; and the house in which he had lived for some years, was one of the very first that was marked out for destruction, and was twice or three times saved by mere accident. As to his person, it is known to have been their intention to have chaired him in derision, and thus to carry about, in a kind of mock triumph, this peaceable and venerable old man upon their frantic expeditions: How this barbarous ceremony was to have ended God only knows.

[3] During his controversy with the celebrated Conyers Middleton, the Penal Laws were let loose upon him with such additional severity, that he was under the necessity of flying the kingdom: So heinous was the crime of vindicating an injured people from the vilest misrepresentations and calumnies.—This elegant but paradoxical writer, who was much better acquainted with Pagan than Christian Antiquities, and read the Classics with much greater attention than the Scriptures, attempted to prove, in his Letter from Rome, that the religion of this Church, from which almost every Church in Europe has received its faith in Christ, was the same with that of their Pagan Ancestors who paid their adorations to Jupiter and Quirinus.* But had the Doctor's arguments been equal in force to the magic sweetness of his stile, he would not have been reduced to call in the *Brachium Seculare*, or Penal Laws, to his assistance, as the bishop hints in his preface to the *Grounds of the Old Religion.*

* See preface to *Catholic Christian*,

acquired this steadiness in suffering for God, this heavenly unction of discourse, this horror of sin, this unremitting ardour for doing good, finally this burning flame of divine love?—It was in the exercise of holy prayer, especially of mental prayer, in which he placed his chief delight. This he regularly practised himself for a considerable space every morning, and this he constantly recommended to others, not only to his Ecclesiastics, but to all Christians in general, as the main channel of divine grace, and the only light by which they are enabled to discover the real value of things, temporal and eternal. God alone was witness to the favours he received in this heavenly exercise; but to see him only at his ordinary vocal prayers,[1] and to observe the respect, the recollection, and the fervour with which he performed them, was enough to inspire the most tepid with devotion. To speak the truth, this spirit of recollection was so familiar to him, that he never seemed to lose sight of God amidst the most intricate business, and thus strictly fulfilled the precept of the Apostle, and of Christ himself, of *praying always and without ceasing*.[2]

It was in the same holy school of mental prayer, that this Man of God learned that contempt of worldly grandeur, and that affection for holy poverty, which were distinguishing features in his character. Seldom was he to be found in the company of the rich and the great, whereas with the poor and the lowly he chose to live and to converse; to these he chiefly devoted his missionary labours, never better pleased than when he had assembled together a knot of poor artizans and illiterate labourers to hear the truths of salvation; to these likewise he directed the labours of his inferior ecclesiastics, in a particular manner, telling them in the words of the Evangelist, to go and *preach the Gospel to the poor*.[3]

Not that he was destitute of qualities sufficient to recommend him to the notice and admiration of the world; on the contrary, no man could be in higher consideration with people of all denominations than himself; the very adversaries of religion esteemed him, and the haughtiest grandees respected him, and approached his person with a degree of awe; but, besides a predilection for the poor, which is founded in the doctrine and example of Jesus Christ himself, he knew very well, that the great are in no danger of wanting spiritual assistance, when they are disposed to profit by it, but that for the most part the

[1] The delight he felt in saying the stated Office of the Church, which to many appears so great a burden, and in repeating the inflamed expressions of the inspired Psalmist, in which it chiefly consists, may be gathered from an expression which escaped him, when upon a person's intimating a satisfaction at having discharged that obligation, he answered, with an emphasis that marked his sincerity, *I have that Pleasure to come.*

[2] 1 Thess. v. 17. Luke xviii. v. 1. [3] Luke iv. 18.

truths of salvation are with regard to them a seed sown among thorns; whereas the poor are generally most neglected, at the same time that, by the humility of their state, and their exemption from the snares of riches, they are the fittest soil to bring this precious grain to a plentiful harvest.

But the touchstone, my Brethren, of all these virtues and shining qualities, and that which gave them their lustre and perfection, was that unfeigned humility, and that sincere contempt of himself, and of all he had ever done, which this Man of God entertained. With all great things he had atchieved, and all the sufferings he had gone through in the course of such long and signal services under the banners of Jesus Christ, in short with all that rendered him so respectable in the eyes of others, no conceit, no ostentation, no parade, even with respect to his learning, or other qualities of an inferior merit, was ever to be discovered in his language or behaviour; not a word even escaped him which might look like a bait for applause, or favoured in any degree the purposes of vanity. On the contrary, when he did at any time mention himself or his own performances, it was always with a view to his own debasement; and in particular, he was accustomed, in his most private conversations, to beg the prayers of those whose faults were notorious, with that air of sincerity, and that earnest importunity, that it was plain he thought himself a much greater sinner than they, and his prayers much less worthy the divine favour. Finally, this humility was so visible and striking in his whole life and behaviour, that it was almost impossible to approach him without feeling its influence; and the haughtiest spirits have been forced to own, that they could not remain in his company, and see a living saint as it were humbled at their feet without blushing at the extravagance of their own pretensions.

Humility and meekness are two sister virtues joined together by our blessed Lord Himself, nor were they separated in this pattern of the Gospel lessons. His meekness was such, that it was impossible by any injuries or insults offered to himself to rouse his passions, or to discover that he had the common feelings of human nature, but at the same time when the cause of God and the salvation of souls were concerned,—then, my Brethren, you would have seen him become, for zeal and firmness, a second Jerom, or an Athanasius. On other occasions, when nothing but his own dignity was at stake, he has been known to beg pardon of his inferiors, and even to kneel to those immediately dependent upon him, in order to appease his ruffled temper, and to teach him by his own example the favourite virtues of Jesus Christ.

I say nothing of our Prelate's genius and learning, of his admirable

wisdom and discretion in deciding on doubtful and difficult cases, of his prudence and judgment in the management of affairs in general, and of many other excellent qualities for which he was remarkable; since, however admirable these were, and however their loss will long be severely felt by many, yet they do not enter into my plan, which was not so much for furnishing you with matter for admiration, as for imitation; and I have already exceeded the bounds I had prescribed to myself. This likewise obliges me to pass over many shining virtues in the character of our holy Pastor, which would furnish abundant matter for the imitation of most Christians, if they were held out in their proper light, such as his candor and moderation,[1] his averseness to party zeal and every kind of clamour; the sweetness and affability of his discourse, his unbounded charity to the poor, and the parsimony he observed in his furniture, apparel, and every other particular, in order to raise a fund for their assistance; the mortification and austerity of his life; and finally, the strict watch he kept over his senses, curiosity, and particularly over his tongue, that he *might not offend in words*,[2] which St. James gives us to understand is the finishing stroke of a perfect Christian: All this I say I pass over, and a great deal more, which I could speak to from my own knowledge, though that which has come to my knowledge is, I am persuaded, the least part of the merits of this truly evangelic man. For that humility we have before been speaking of, was in him as careful to conceal his virtues and accomplishments, as the vanity of others is active in displaying whatever may tend to their praise. O, my Friends, what a fund of merit with which we are now unacquainted! What a perfection in every virtue of which we form no idea, will that great day of universal retribution discover in this holy soul! Then, and not till then, shall we know what a treasure we possessed in possessing him.

What think you now, my Brethren, of the closing scene of such

[1] This was an unquestionable stroke in the Bishop's character; he could discern and value merit where ever it was to be found. Were there no other proof his being a great as well as good man, this alone would be sufficient. Happy had it been for religion, if this lesson had always been attended to, and if those enlisted in her cause could always have said with Bishop Challoner, after the Apostle, *So that Christ by every way be preached, in this I rejoice, yes and will rejoice.* (Philip. i. v. 18.) If no external advantages can avail to preserve the best founded states from ruin, where a principle of union is wanting within, how much less can that cause prosper, which has every external advantage against it, unless its friends, laying aside every private and party view, direct their endeavours to the same point, the general good of the whole, and act in concert with each other for this purpose?

[2] St. James iii. v. 2.

a life as this? A life extended to near a century,[1] and almost uniformly employed in accumulating treasures of merit in the sight of God, in advancing his holy cause, and contributing to the eternal happiness of innumerable souls? Is it to be called a death? or not rather a triumph? At all events we may joyfully cry out, in such circumstances as these, nor fear that our joy is misplaced, *Oh, Death, where is thy sting? Oh, Grave, where is thy victory?*[2] Away then with lamentations and tears; away with both the pomp and reality of woe; since, however these may have place at the death of ordinary Christians, the departure of the Saints is to be celebrated with joy and thanksgiving; and every private sentiment of grief must be stifled in the general exultation at an event which *is precious in the sight of God*,[3] triumphant to the happy souls themselves, and animating to us. No doubt, my Friends, but to render this event, in the present case, so incontestibly certain, as to justify any degree of public respect, no less than the voice of the supreme Pastor, of Peter's successor in the chair of unity, is indispensibly necessary; but since, in the mean time, my private thoughts and devotions are not confined, and since I cannot entertain a doubt but that our dear departed Father is gone to take possession of the reward of his many and well-fought battles in the cause of God, and is actually singing the hymn of victory amidst the choirs of other successful combatants, I own the twelfth day of the New Year will ever be a sort of festival to me, nor can I pass it over without a secret prayer addressed to him, as in heaven, whom I knew here on earth, to the end he would obtain, that *my soul may die his death, and that my latter end may be like to his.*

What though his summons was short, he was not taken by surprize, as those can never be surprised who are always prepared; and this sort of call, which in sinners is the effect of God's justice, in the

[1] He lived to the age of ninety, being born in 1691, and dying in the present year 1781. His parents were of the reformed persuasion, but chancing early in life to fall into the hands of the pious and learned Mr. Gother, he was, by this sage director, happily brought back to the *one fold of the one Shepherd*,* the pale of the ancient and universal church. Soon after that, he was sent to the English College of Douay, where making an extraordinary progress in his studies, and being no less remarkable for the piety and regularity of his behaviour, he rose to the rank of Vice-President and Professor of divinity, in which science he likewise received the degree of Doctor. In 1730 he came on the Mission where in 1740 he was chosen by Bishop Benjamin Peters his Coadjutor in the London district. This last mentioned Prelate succeeded to Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, who died in 1733, and had been consecrated in 1687, when the Mission was first divided into its present form.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. v. 55.

[3] Ps. cxv. v. 15.

* St. John x. v. 16.

saints is frequently the effect of his clemency, as divines teach, and many examples show.[1] In effect, my Brethren, What purpose could a longer notice have answered to so pure a soul? Was it that he might build up that feeble edifice of a death-bed repentance, and in his last moments turn from sin to God? He who during his whole life had but one wish, that sin might be abolished, and the love of God universally reign? Was it that he might disengage his affections from the world? He who had never loved the world, nor the things of the world? Was it that he might expiate his sins? He whose life, at the same time that it was a model of innocence, was a pattern of penance? Again, What end could a more distinct call have served? Since it could not have put him more upon his guard against this thief, that comes upon us suddenly in the night, than he was from habit; and since it is known, that he never promised himself life from month to month, no not even from day. Finally, What could an earlier summons have availed one so saint like and perfect? Since had he known long beforehand, by revelation, the precise hour of his departure, it is hard to conceive what higher acts of virtue he could have practised, what other arrangements of his affairs he could have made, or how he could have disposed of an hour of his time in any other way than he actually did.

What then is the conclusion, my Brethren, we are to draw from these several reflections upon the life and death of our late holy Pastor? No doubt, but the first sentiment that will present itself to your minds, is that which my text suggests, to desire, like Balaam, *That we may die the death of this just man, and that our latter end may be like to his.* This indeed is very natural;—but Oh! my Friends, it is not sufficient: Princes and Emperors might rationally wish to exchange their diadems to ensure this happiness, and to be what this holy soul is now before God; But he himself tells us in writings,[2] "That however we may wish and pray for this blessed event, to which a happy eternity is annexed, there is no security or even hopes for it, but from a good life." It was chiefly with a view of shewing you what is necessary for this purpose, and of engaging you to put it in practice, that I have pointed out to you the steps in which this blessed man walked. Let not then the sentiments, I beseech you, with which you are animated, on occasion of this striking event, die away without furnishing you with some salutary and effectual resolutions for the amendment of your lives. Endeavour

[1] The deaths of St. Andrew Avellini, of St. Homobonus, St. Francis of Sales, and of many others in the sacred Calendar, though attended with great circumstances of piety, were very sudden.

[2] See in *Meditations for the whole year*, that for the 9th of July.

to imitate his love of God, his contempt of the world, his humility, and other virtues, particularly that which you stand most in need of. Study those excellent lessons in his writings, and make use of the same means for putting them in practice, which he has marked out, and employed with so much success—prayer, especially mental prayer. Pray likewise that the cause of God in this nation may suffer no essential detriment by the loss it has sustained: A proof indeed that God does not mean to abandon it, and that in withdrawing from amongst us this accomplished Pastor, whom he has lent us so long, he has rather acted with views of mercy to him than of justice to us, is, that he has left us in his place a truly zealous and exemplary Prelate, one who, though possessed of great worldly advantages, *looks upon them all as dung, that he may win Christ*,[1] and gain others to him also; one, in short, to whom his saint-like predecessor chose to commit those sacred interests which alone he had at heart.

But however, lest perhaps the all-searching eye of God, that eye which sees imperfection in the angels themselves, should have discovered some drop even in this pure gold, some spot or blemish even in this perfect soul, let us join in putting up our most fervent prayers to the Father of Mercies, through the all-powerful blood of his divine Son, which will soon be really present, and mystically immolated on this sacred altar, that if this precious spirit should be, for a time, detained from its destined seat of glory, its exile may not be of long continuance, but that it may soon be admitted to the sight of that countenance, after which alone it sighed when here on earth; let us for this purpose represent to the Almighty the zeal, fidelity, and other holy dispositions with which it ever served him. The inspired Psalmist will suggest to us the sentiments proper for this purpose.[2] *Remember, O Lord, David*, this thy faithful servant, this man according to thy own heart. Remember all his *meekness*, and according to thy promise bring him to the *possession of the land* of the living. Remember all his zeal, how he swore not to indulge his ease, or to take his rest, till he had found an abode for thee in those hearts thou hadst made for thyself, how he vowed his life and being an eternal sacrifice to the glory of thy house, and the honour of thy name.

But, O Blessed Spirit! if, as I confidently hope, thou art already admitted to the sight and possession of the source of all perfection, to the reward of thy long and faithful services in this sacred cause, repay, we beseech thee, the imperfect prayers we offer up for thy

[1] Philip. iii. v. 8. [2] Psalm cxxxi.

repose, with thy more acceptable and powerful intercession in our behalf. Forget not in that blessed abode, where charity still continues, though faith and hope are destroyed, those whom thou hast loved and cherished here below, the companions of thy pilgrimage, those who fought under thy standard. Let them not be losers by being, for a time, deprived of thy sensible presence, but still continue invisibly to watch over thy flock, and to baffle the artifices of the infernal wolf, ever intent on their destruction; protect the sheep and assist the pastors, that both following the track thou hast marked out for them by word and by example, they may both arrive to a fellowship in thy unchangeable bliss, &c.

THE END.

APPENDIX L.

PAPERS, RELICS, MEMORIALS AND OTHER OBJECTS FORMERLY BELONGING TO BISHOP CHALLONER.

Archbishop's House, Westminster.

Original MS. of *A Caveat against the Methodists.*

„ of *The City of God of the New Testament.*

Letter-book in the Bishop's writing, 1742-1778.

Other note-books and various memoranda.

Original MS. of proposed English Supplement to the Missal and Breviary.

Very many Letters.

(The oil painting in the Cathedral Clergy House is a copy of the original portrait at Old Hall.)

St. Edmund's College, Old Hall.

Original oil painting of the Bishop, in his 68th year. (See frontispiece to this work.)

Cassock and Mozetta of violet silk.

His own copy of *Britannia Sancta*, and other books from his private library containing his autograph.

Copy of his printed Theses for the Doctorate.

Two copies of a Mortuary Notice for Church doors, remarkable as being one of the earliest of such notices which is extant.

St. Mary's College, Oscott.

White silk Mitre.

Crozier of gilt wood. The crook only, the staff being missing.

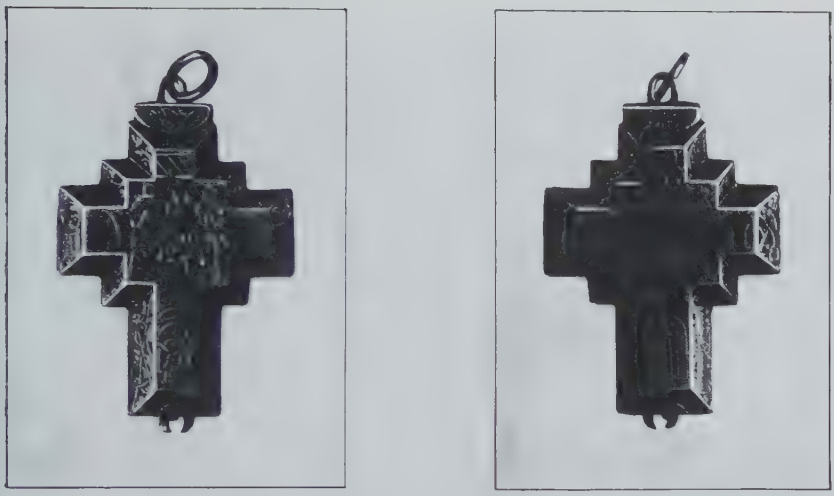
Various Letters.

MS. of Gother's *Essay on the Change and Choice of Religion* with corrections for press in Bishop Challoner's writing.

Collection of MS. materials for *Memoirs of Missionary Priests.*

Bishop's House, Birmingham.

Original Letters.



Dr. Challoner's Pectoral Cross.



Dr. Challoner's Mitre and Crozier.

YOU are humbly requeſted to attend the SOLEMN DIRGE, for the Repoſe of the Soul of the

Venerable and Right Revd. Dr. RICHARD CHALONER, V. A.

And Biſhop of DEBRA in Aſia,

At the CHAPELS, and on the DAYS following,

BAVARIAN, Warwick-Street, Golden-Square, on Wedneſday, January 24th.

PORTUGAL, in South-Street, South-Audley-Street, on Friday, 26th.

NEAPOLITAN, Bird-Street, Groſvenor-Square, on Tueſday, 30th.

SARDINIAN, in Duke-Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on Monday the 5th Day of March.

The OFFICE to begin each Day at 10 o'Clock in the Morning.

THIS Venerable Prelate was born on St. Michael's Day, 1691, Old Stile, and educated in Diſſenting Principles, which he renounced at the Hands of Mr. John Gother, who was alſo a Convert, and highly eſteemed as a Catholic Prieſt in the latter part of the laſt Century, and beginning of this; to whom the ſtrict ſearch he made to ſatisfy his Conſcience, endeared him ſo much, as he ſhewed by it ſo early a dawn of thoſe great qualities of piety and learning which adorned his future life, that in the year 1705 he recommended him to the Engliſh College at Doway, being only then Fourteen years old, where he ſucceeded ſo happily that he paſſed through all the Schools with univerſal applauſe- and in the year 1716 was ordained Prieſt; ſoon after admitted Doctor of that Univerſity; and, in September 1730, was ſent upon the Engliſh Miſſion.---Here the Priſons, the Cellars and the Garrets became his conſtant Care, to which the ſcantineſs of his purſe was not adequate; he therefore eſtabliſhed ſeveral Charitable Societies under proper officers, whoſe buſineſs it was to relieve the needy, ſuccour the infant or youth in their wants, and ſee that ſuffrages were offered for them who are gone before us;---Inſtitutions he lived not only to ſee proſper, but admired by the very opponents of Catholicity, and never to be ſufficiently commended.

His great Endeavours---his Humility---his Charity---Piety and Learning recommended him to the notice and friendſhip of the greateſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed men of the time he lived in;---but ſingularly ſo, to his worthy and truly pious Predeceſſor, Benjeman, Biſhop Petre; who nominated, and, on the 29th of January 1740, St. Francis de Sale's day, conſecrated him Biſhop of Debra in Aſia, and his Coadjutor.---It is needleſs to ſay more ---The Works he has left of Piety---Inſtruction---Controverſy---and Hiſtory---will ever endear him to ſucceeding times; and the aſſembled multitude, who have been preſent at his Diſcourſes, or thoſe who knew him in private life, will teſtify to the Virtues of ſo amiable a Character.

He was in perfect health, on Wedneſday the tenth of January, till nearly finiſhing his dinner, he was ſtruck with the Palſy in his right arm, which fell from the table, and before he had time to ſpeak, his head alſo reclined on the right ſhoulder, as he named the diſeaſe;---after which he ſpoke no more.---The weakneſs of his body, and great age, gave the three eminent Phyſicians, who immediately attended him, no hopes of his recovery, though they attempted all in the power of Medicine.---On his firſt being ſtruck, cold ſweats, accompanied with lethargical intervals, ſucceeded each other, till reduced to the utmoſt weakneſs of nature, being perfectly ſenſible to the laſt, he expired, without any ſeeming pain, between the hours of twelve and one on Friday morning the 12th Day of January 1781, having been fifty years on the miſſion, forty years of that time Biſhop, and in the ninetieth year of his age.---His Remains will be interred in the Family Vault, near to the Country Seat of a Catholic Gentleman, for whom, in his life-time, this Venerable Prelate had the higheſt eſteem and regard.

MAY HE REST IN PEACE. AMEN.

THE MORTUARY BILL OF BISHOP CHALLONER.

St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.

MS. *The Case of Lisbon College.*

Various original Letters.

Mortuary Bill.

(The oil painting in the Refectory is a modern work copied from the engraving by Symns.)

Downside Abbey.

Pectoral Cross. It is engraved with the Nativity and the Epiphany, with the instruments of the Passion round the edges. Inside there are no relics but engravings of the Crucifixion and the Coronation of our Lady. A paper attached to the cross reads:—

"This cross belonged to Bishop Challonor, Bishop Milner, Rev^d. Mr. Abbot, Bishop Polding."

In possession of L. A. Barrett, Esq. (Milton House, Berks.).

Cassock of violet stuff.

Missal containing the Bishop's autograph.

Chalice and vestments used by him.

In possession of J. B. Corney, Esq.

Chalice and paten, vestments, missal and altar-cards used by the Bishop while staying at Finchley during the Gordon Riots.

The Jesuit Fathers, at Farm Street and at Stonyhurst.

Some original Letters.

Blairs College, Aberdeen, and the English College at Valladolid.

Some original Letters.

APPENDIX M.

DOCUMENTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF PROPAGANDA WHICH RELATE TO BISHOP CHALLONER'S PONTIFICATE.

The number of these documents is too large to catalogue even briefly, but the more important papers are referred to in the body of the work, and the greater part refer merely to details of administration. Many are found in the collection *Anglia*, volumes 4 and 5; others are contained in the volumes containing letters sent by the Sacred Congregation to Challoner, or those sent from England to the Congregation. Some documents also occur in the volume of *Audiences* which is devoted to rescripts and pontifical favours.

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(*The works are arranged in order of publication.*)

Think Well On't: or Reflections on the Great Truths of the Christian Religion for Every Day in the Month.

1st edition.	1728.		
2nd	„	1733.	
3rd	„	1736.	(Meighan, London.)
4th	„	1744.	(Meighan, London.)
		1801.	(Haydock, Manchester.)
		1807.	(Keating, Brown & Keating, London.)
		1820.	(Coyne, Dublin.) With Gaelic Translation.
		1825.	(Coyne, Dublin.)
		1830.	(Keating & Brown, London.)
		1834.	(Keating & Brown, London.)
		1843.	(Richardson, Derby.)
		1845.	(Richardson, Derby.)

And many editions without date.

The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church, in matters of Faith, maintain'd against the exceptions of a late Author in his Answer to a Letter on the Subject of Infallibility. Or, a Theological Dissertation in which the Infallibility of the Church of Christ is Demonstrated, from Innumerable Texts of Scripture, from the Creed, from the Fathers and Perpetual Tradition: To which are prefix'd Eight Preliminaries by Way of Introduction to the true Church of Christ.

1st edition.	1732.	No publisher's name, but it was by Meighan, London.	
2nd	„	1735.	(Meighan, London.)
3rd	„	1736.	(Meighan, London.)
		1829.	(Christie, Dublin.)

A Profession of Catholic Faith extracted out of the Council of Trent by Pope Pius IV. and now in use for the reception of Converts into the Church. With the chief grounds of the controversial articles. By way of question and answer.

1st edition. 1732.
4th „ 1734.

Subsequent editions were issued under the new title: *The Grounds of the Catholick Doctrine* ascertained in the Profession of Faith, Published by Pope Pius IV., by way of question and answer.

5th edition. 1736.
6th „ 1747.
7th „ 1752.
8th „ 1753.
9th „ ?
10th „ 1771.
1790. (Coghlan, London), wrongly called "seventh edition".
1802. (Thos. Haydock, Manchester.)
1818. (Keating, London), wrongly called "twelfth edition".
1823. Wrongly called "twelfth edition".
1825.
1868.

A Welsh edition was published in 1764 under the title *Sail yr Athrawiaeth Gatholic, gynnwysedig mewn Profess. Ffydd a gyhoeddwyd gan Bâb Piws y Bedwerydd ar wedd holiad ac atteb, etc.*

A reply was published under the title *A View of Popery taken from the Creed of Pope Pius IV. containing an answer to the most material things in the "Profession of Catholic Faith,"* etc. now in use for the reception of converts into the Church of Rome. By Joseph Burroughs. London, 1735. In this work the author says: "The reader is further desired to observe . . . that *The Grounds of Catholic Doctrine* is the running title of the same book, which in the title page is called A Profession of the Catholic Faith" (pp. 16 and 159). It was probably this criticism which induced Dr. Challoner to change his title-page in the next edition to *The Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine.*

A Short History of the First Beginning and Progress of the Protestant Religion. Gathered out of the best Protestant writers, by way of question and answer.

1st edition.	1733.	
	1735.	(Brabham, London.)
	1736.	
	1742.	(Meighan, London.)
6th „	1753.	
7th „	1753.	
10th „	1767.	
11th „	1781.	(Coghlan, London), described as the "tenth edition".
12th „	1795.	
13th „	1803.	
14th „	1813.	
	1814.	

Italian translations were published at Arezzo, 1767, and Siena 1790.

A Roman Catholick's Reasons why he cannot Conform to the Protestant Religion.

This was a leaflet issued before 1747, and often reprinted, but always without title-page or date.

It was added to the edition of *The Touchstone of the New Religion*, published at Dublin in 1828.

The Touchstone of the New Religion: or Sixty Assertions of Protestants try'd by their own rule of Scripture alone, and condemn'd by clear and express Texts of their own Bible.

[Though the title and plan are copied from Dr. Matthew Kellison's *The Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel*, it is altogether a different book.]

1st edition.	1734.	
	1735.	(—— London.)
	1741.	(—— London.)
	1748.	(Meighan, London.)
	1788.	(—— London.)
7th „	1795.	(Coghlan, London.)
8th „	1800.	(Coghlan, London.)
9th „	1816.	(—— Dublin.)
	1822.	(Hodgson, Liverpool.)
	1823.	(Keating & Brown, London.)
	1828.	(—— Dublin.)
	1838.	(Catholic Institute Tracts, Vol. I.)

The Young Gentleman Instructed in the Grounds of the Christian Religion. In three Dialogues between a Young Gentleman and his Tutor. In the First Dialogue is demonstrated the Being of a God, against Atheists; with a word of the Spirituality and Immortality of Man's Soul. In the Second, the Divine Revelation, both of the Old and New Testament is asserted against Deists and Freethinkers. In the Third, the Divinity of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost is maintain'd against Modern Arians and Socinians.

1st edition. 1735. (Meighan, London.)
2nd „ ?
3rd „ 1755. (Needham, London.)

A Specimen of the Spirit of the Dissenting Teachers in their sermons lately preach'd at Salter's Hall; or some remarks upon Mr. John Barker's Sermon against Popery, preach'd Jan. 9, 1734-5. And Mr. S. Chandler's Sermon upon the Notes of the Church, preach'd Jan. 16 of the same Year. To which is added by way of Appendix, the Doctrine of the Fathers of the first six Centuries concerning the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist; gather'd from innumerable Passages translated with the utmost fidelity from their genuine works. By Philalethes.

1736. (Thomas Meighan, London.)

The Scripture Doctrine of the Church.

A pamphlet of thirty-four pages issued without a separate title-page in the 1747 Collection of Tracts (*q.v.*), but it was also published separately without date.

The Catholick Christian Instructed in the Sacraments, Sacrifice, Ceremonies and Observances of the Church. By way of question and answer. By R. . . . C. . . .

1737. (London.) No publisher, but certainly Meighan.
1753. (—— London.)
1768.
1798. (Coghlan, London), described as the "fourteenth edition".
1810. (Keating, Brown & Keating, London.)
1831. (Catholic Book Society, Dublin), also described as the "fourteenth edition".
1835. (Keating & Brown, London.)
1837. (—— Dublin.)
1843. (Richardson, Derby.)
1845. (Richardson, Derby.)
1868. (Duffy, Dublin.)
1881. (Burns & Oates, London.)

A French translation, *Catechisme Dogmatique et Liturgique* (with a biography), is published in Migne's Catechisms. Vol. ii., Paris, 1842, 1848.

A Reply was published to the Preface of this book by Dr. Conyers Middleton in the fourth edition of his *Letter from Rome*, the work which had been attacked in Dr. Challoner's Preface. This reply was republished in a different form some years later under the title *Popery Unmasked, being the substance of Dr. Middleton's celebrated Letter from Rome: with an Abstract of the Doctor's reply to the Obections of the writer of a Popish book, intituled:—the Catholic Christian Instructed etc.* London. Printed for G. Keith, 1759.

Dr. Challoner republished his Preface by itself as a pamphlet (1742) as *A Plain Answer to Dr. C——s M——n's Letter from Rome.* London, printed in the Year MDCCXLII.

Other Catholic replies to Dr. Middleton were:—

Friendly advice to C——rs M——n, D.D. concerning the Fourth Edition of his Letter from Rome and the Prefatory Discourse prefixed to it. London. Needham, 1741.

A Popish Pagan the Fiction of a Protestant Heathen. In a conversation betwixt a Gentleman of the States of Holland a Deist by Profession, and a Doctor of Heathen Mythology. London, 1743. [By Simon Berington.]

Another reply to Challoner was published by Richard Andrews of Chichester, in 1755, *The Doctrine of Transubstantiation fairly argued.*

The Following of Christ in four books written in Latin by Thomas à Kempis newly translated into English. By R—— C—— D.D.

1st edition.	1737.	(Thomas Meighan, London.)
2nd „	1744.	(Meighan, London.)
5th „	1779.	(Coghlan, London.)
6th „	1789.	(Coghlan, London.)
8th „	1793.	(Coghlan, London.)
9th „	1796.	(Coghlan, London.)
	1800.	(Thos. Haydock, Manchester.)
13th „	1810.	(Keating, Brown & Co., London.)
	1814.	(—— Cork), revised and corrected by Rev. Dr. Coppinger.
	1825.	(Coyne, Dublin), described as the "fifteenth edition".
17th „	1826.	(Keating & Brown, London.)
18th „	1829.	(Keating & Brown, London.)

Subsequent editions become too numerous to mention in detail, especially as some were issued without date. The Rev. James Jones brought out an edition which was reprinted several times:—1833 (Keating & Brown); 1835 (Keating & Brown); 3rd, 1842 (T. Jones, London); 4th, 1852 (T. Jones); 5th, 1854 (T. Jones), and 6th, 1858 (T. Jones). Other editions were printed in Paris by Cormon & Blanc, 1834 and 1835; in Belfast by Sims & M'Intyre, 1840 and 1841; in Philadelphia by Cummiskey, 1838; and several reprints have been issued by Duffy of Dublin and Burns & Oates of London.

The New Testament of Jesus Christ; with arguments of books and chapters: with annotations and other helps, for the better understanding the text, and especially for the Discovery of Corruptions in divers late Translations: and for clearing up Religious Controversies of the present Times. To which are added Tables of the Epistles and Gospels controversies and heretical corruptions. The Text is faithfully translated into English, out of the Authentical Latin, diligently conferred with the Greek, and other Editions in divers languages: and the Annotations etc. are affix'd to it By the English College then resident in Rhemes. The Fifth Edition (the First in Folio) adorn'd with cuts. Permissu Superiorum. Printed in the year MDCCXXXVIII.

1738. (—— London.)

Edited with Father Francis Blyth, Discalced Carmelite.

St. Augustine's Confessions; or Praises of God. In ten books, newly translated into English from the Original Latin.

1st edition. 1739. (Meighan, London.)
1762.

The Garden of the Soul: or a Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions for Christians who living in the World aspire to devotion.

1st edition.	1740.	No publisher's name, but issued by Meighan, London.	
2nd „	1741.	„	„
3rd „	1743.	„	„
	1746.		
6th „	1751.		
7th „	1757.	(Needham, London.)	
8th „	1759.	(Meighan, London.)	
9th „	1764.		
	1765.	(Stewart, Preston), described as the "eighth edition".	
	1769.	(Meighan, London.)	

1775.
1777. (—— Preston.)
1778. (——), described as the "tenth edition".
1787. (Coghlan, London.)
1789. (Hall & Elliott, Newcastle.)
1792. (Carey, Philadelphia.)
1793. (Coghlan, London.)
1798.
1799. (Thos. Haydock, Stockport.)
1800. (Keating, Brown & Keating, London.)
1800. (Smart, Wolverhampton), "for the use of Sedgley Park School"
1806. (—— London.)
1808. (Keating, Brown & Co., London.)
1810. (Preston & Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.)
1812. (Keating, Brown & Keating, London.)
1812. (Thos. Haydock, Dublin.)
1814. (—— Baltimore), described as the "eighteenth edition".
1816. (—— London.)
1817. (Booker, London.)
1818. (Beegan, Manchester.)
1819. (Heaton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.)
1822. (Robinson, Manchester.)
1823. (Robinson, Manchester.)
1824. (—— London.)

In 1834 "A New and Amended edition" was published with the approval of the Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, after which time the different editions are too varied as to contents and too often undated to render a complete list possible.

In Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* the *Garden of the Soul* is several times cited under date 1737, an error which seems to have been originally derived from Mr. Orby Shipley's article "Dryden as a Hymnodist" in the *Dublin Review*, October, 1884. In no other place is there any mention of a 1737 edition. Moreover, the 1743 edition is expressly stated to be the "Third," so that the known editions for 1740 and 1741 must be the First and Second respectively.

The French spiritual book, *Le Jardin de l'Ame* (Vannes, 1859), is not a translation of the *Garden of the Soul*, but a French version of a selection from the *Meditations*.

Memoirs of Missionary Priests, as well Secular as Regular and of other Catholics of both sexes, that have suffered death in England, on Religious Accounts, from the Year of Our Lord 1577 to 1684.

Gathered partly from the printed accounts of their Lives and Sufferings, published by Contemporary Authors in divers languages. And partly from Manuscript Relations kept in the Archives and Records of the English Colleges and Convents Abroad, and oftentimes penned by Eye-witnesses of their death. Divided into two parts.

Part I. Containing an Account of those that suffered from the year 1577, till the End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, who died in 1603. Printed in the year MDCCXLI.

Part II. Containing an Account of those that suffered from the Year 1603, the First of King James I. to the Year 1684, the last of King Charles II. Printed in the year MDCCXLII.

1st edition	1741-2.	2 vols.	(No publisher.)
	1803.	2 vols.	(Haydock, Manchester.)
	1825.	2 vols.	(Cuddon, London), being Vols. II. and III. of *A Complete Modern British Martyrology.*
	1836.	2 vols.	(Jones, London.)
	1838.	2 vols.	(Jones, London.)
	1839.	2 vols.	(Philadelphia.)
	1840.	1 vol.	(Philadelphia.)
	1842.	2 vols.	(Jones, London.)
	1844.	2 vols.	(Jones, London.)
	1843-4.	2 vols.	(Richardson, Derby.)
	1874.	1 vol.	(Warren, Dublin.)
	1878.	2 vols. in 1.	(Jack, Edinburgh and London.)
	1879.	2 vols. in 1.	(Jack, Edinburgh and London.)

A German translation in 2 vols. was issued at Paderborn in 1852.

The Grounds of the Old Religion: or some General Arguments in Favour of the Catholick, Apostolick, Roman Communion. Collected from both Ancient and Modern Controvertists, and modestly proposed to the Consideration of his Countrymen. By a Convert. Printed at Augusta in MDCCXLII.

1st edition.		1742.	(No publisher, "Augusta," *i.e.* London.)
2nd	„	1746.	(No publisher, "Augusta," *i.e.* London.)
3rd	„	1751.	(No publisher, "Augusta," *i.e.* London.)
4th	„	1781.	(Coghlan, London.)
5th	„	1798.	(Coghlan, London.)
		1802.	(Thos. Haydock, Manchester.)
		1808.	(Coyne, Dublin), with an erroneous title-page.
		1820.	(Keating & Co., London.)

A Letter to a Friend Concerning the Infallibility of the Church of Christ. In answer to a late pamphlet entitled *An Humble Address to the Jesuits*, by a dissatisfied Roman Catholic.

1743. (London.)

Scripture Sentences for the Encouragement and Comfort of such as suffer for conscience.

1744. (Needham, London.)

Britannia Sancta: or the Lives of the Most Celebrated British, English, Scottish and Irish Saints: who have flourished in these Islands, from the earliest times of Christianity, down to the Change of Religion in the Sixteenth Century. Faithfully collected from their ancient Acts, and other Records of British History.

1745. Two volumes. (Meighan, London.)

A Collection of Controversial Tracts. Publish'd by R. C., D.D. Containing

I. A Plain answer to Dr. Conyers Middleton's *Letter from Rome.*
II. The Grounds of the Catholick Doctrine.
III. The Touchstone of the New Religion.
IV. The Scripture Doctrine of the Catholick Church.
V. A Roman Catholick's Reasons why he cannot conform to the Protestant Religion.
VI. A Letter to a Friend concerning the Infallibility of the Church of Christ.
VII. A Short History of the first Beginning and Progress of the Protestant Religion.

London. Printed in the year MDCCXLVII.

1747. (Meighan, London.)

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Latin Vulgat; Diligently compared with the original Greek: and first published by the English College of Rhemes, anno 1582. Newly revised and corrected according to the Clementin Edition of the Scriptures. With annotations for clearing up modern Controversies in Religion, and other Difficulties of Holy Writ.

1st edition. 1749.
2nd „ 1750, with first edition of Old Testament.
3rd „ 1752.
4th „ 1763-4, with second edition of Old Testament.
5th „ 1772. (Coghlan, London.)
6th „ 1777. (Coghlan, London.)

The editions published subsequent to Dr. Challoner's death are so numerous and so subject to repeated revision that they cannot conveniently be enumerated here. A comprehensive list down to 1855 will be found in Cotton's *Rhemes and Doway*, pp. vii-xii.

The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgat: Diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other Editions in divers Languages. And first published by the English College at Doway, Anno 1609. Newly revised and corrected, according to the Clementin Edition of the Scriptures. With Annotations for clearing up the principal difficulties of Holy Writ.

1st edition. 1750. 5 vols. (including the second edition of the New Testament). (Meighan, London.)
2nd edition. 1763-4. 5 vols. (including the fourth edition of the New Testament).

For the editions subsequent to Dr. Challoner's death, see Cotton's *Rhemes and Doway*, pp. vii-xii.

Instructions and Advice to Catholicks upon Occasion of the late Earthquakes. Printed in the year 1750.

Remarks on Two Letters against Popery, pretended to be written by a Protestant Lady and first published in the Year 1727, upon the recommendation of Dr. Samuel Clarke. In a Letter to a Friend.

1751. (London.)

Instructions for the Time of the Jubilee Anno 1751, with Meditations, in order to determine the Soul to turn from Sin to God and to fix her in a happy Resolution of dedicating herself henceforward in good earnest to the Love and Service of her Maker.

1751. (London.)

It was reprinted again for the Jubilee in 1776.

Considerations upon Christian Truths and Christian Duties digested into *Meditations for Every Day in the Year.*

Part I. For the first six months. Part II. For the last six months.

1st edition.	1754.	2 vols.	(London.)
2nd „	1759.	2 vols.	(London.)
3rd „	1767.	2 vols.	(London.)
	1784.	4 vols.	
	1794.		(—— London.)
	1796.	2 vols.	
	1807.	2 vols.	(Keating, London.)

1814. 2 vols. (Haydock, Manchester.)
1814. 2 vols. (Syers, Manchester.)
1825. 2 vols. (Keating, London.)
1824. 2 vols. (Keating, London.)
1839. Dr. Husenbeth's edition. (London.)
1842. 2 vols. (Richardson, Derby.)
1843. 2 vols. (Richardson, Derby.)
1846. 1 vol. (Duffy, Dublin.)
1852. 1 vol. (Duffy, Dublin.)
1866. (Duffy, Dublin.)
1880. Dr. Vertue's edition. 1 vol. (Burns & Oates, London.)
No date (since 1877). 1 vol. (Duffy, Dublin.)

An Italian translation, edited by P. Giuseppe Botticelli, was issued in four volumes at Naples in 1816. *Considerazioni su le verita evangeliche e su i doveri del Christiano disposte in Meditazioni per ciascun giorno dell' anno.* With a biography abridged from Barnard

A Mandate to the Clergy. Dated Oct. 5, 1753.

1753.

Instructions and Regulations for the Indulgences allowed to the Faithful in the L—— District.

1st edition. 1753.
2nd ,, 1754, with the addition of prayers taken from *Instructions for the Jubilee.*

This is a joint pastoral of Bishops Petre and Challoner, dated Nov. 12, 1753. It is not included in any of the lists of Challoner's works, but Milner refers to it (*Life*, p. 24) as being his composition,—a statement confirmed by internal evidence.

The Wonders of God in the Wilderness ; or the Lives of the most celebrated Saints of the Oriental Desarts ; faithfully collected out of the genuine works of the holy fathers and other ancient ecclesiastical writers.

1755. (Needham, London.)
1786. (Swindells, Manchester.)
1804. (London.)
1806. (Manchester.)
1824.
1852. (New York.) Edited by M. A. S.

The Life of the Holy Mother, St. Teresa, Foundress of the Reformation of the Discalceate Carmelites, according to the primitive

rule. Together with a short account of the Foundations which she made. The whole abridged from her own writings.

1757. (Needham, London.)

A Manual of Prayers and other Christian Devotions.
Revised and corrected with large additions by R. C., D.D.

1758. (Meighan, London.)
1764. „ „
1765. „ „
1768. „ „
1771. „ „
1772.
1775. (Coghlan, London.)
1781. „ „
1786. „ „
1793.
1800.
1802.
1814. (Keating, Brown & Keating, London.)
1819.

An Appendix to the Ritual, containing Instructions and Exhortations proper to be made by Priests in the Administration of the Sacraments and other Ecclesiastical Offices: according to the Spirit of the Church and the Prescriptions of her Canons.

1759. Printed with the Ritual published in that year with the authority of the Vicars Apostolic.

The City of God of the New Testament: or a short Abstract of the History of the Church of Christ, from its first Foundation to this Day, with the Succession of its chief Bishop; the general Councils, that have been held; the Conversion of Nations; the Rise and Condemnation of the principal Heresies; and a numerous List of Holy Fathers, Doctors, Martyrs, and other Saints that have flourished in every Century.

1st edition. 1760. (Needham, London.)
2nd „ 1767 (?) (Coghlan, London.)
3rd „ 1788. (Coghlan, London.)
4th „ 1799. (Coghlan, London.)

A Caveat against the Methodists, showing how unsafe it is for any Christian to join himself to their Society or to adhere to their teachers.

1st edition. 1760. (Cooper, London.) To which is added "The Catholick Devotion to the B.V.M."

2nd edition.	1764.	(?)	
3rd „	1787.	(Coghlan, London.)	To which is added "The Catholick Devotion to the B.V.M."
4th „	1792.	(Coghlan, London.)	To which is added "The Devotion of Catholics to the B.V. truly represented. Written in the year 1764."
5th „	1808.	(Coyne, Dublin.)	
6th „	1817.	(Keating, Brown & Co.)	„ „ „

Owing to the tract "The Catholick Devotion to the B.V.M." having been added to this work it has been frequently attributed to Challoner. Charles Butler, however, states[1] that it was written by Rev. Robert Manning. That Challoner did not write it himself is shown by the attestation which is added to the 1764 edition: "The Devotion of Catholics to the Blessed Virgin as represented above is agreeable in every article to the doctrine and practice of the Church and to the unanimous consent of all Catholic Divines. Ita testor R.C.E.D. On the feast of St. Michael and of all the Angels. Sept. 29, 1764."

A Memorial of Ancient British Piety: or a British Martyrology. Giving a short account of all such Britons as have been honoured of old amongst the Saints; or have otherwise been renowned for their extraordinary Piety and Sanctity. To which is annexed a Translation of two ancient Saxon manuscripts, relating to the Burying Places of the English Saints. From the Library of Bennet College, Cambridge.

1761. (Needham, London.)

The Morality of the Bible extracted from all the canonical books of the old and of the new Testament. For the use of such pious Christians as desire to nourish their souls to eternal life with daily meditating on the word of God. By R. C.

1762. (London.)
1765.
1823. (London.)
1823. (Coyne, Dublin.)
1827. (Philadelphia.)

The editor or the *Catholic Spectator* began to reprint this work in the magazine for 1826, but only one instalment appeared (vol. iv., pp. 1-8).

Philothea, or an Introduction to a Devout Life by St. Francis de Sales. Newly translated into English, from the original French,

[1] *Catholic Magazine*, i., 657.

according to the last Edition, revised and corrected by the Saint himself, a little before his Death. By R. C.

1st edition. 1762. (Needham, London.)
2nd „ 1770. (Coghlan, London.)
4th „ 1794. (Coghlan, London.)
7th „ 1820. (Keating & Brown, London.)
1829. (Rockliff & Duckworth, Liverpool.)

A Short Treatise on the Method and Advantage of Withdrawing the Soul from being employed on creatures in order to occupy it on God alone, by F. J. Chrysostome. Translated from the French.

1765. (—— London.)
1769. London.)
1820.
1849.
No date. (Duffy, Dublin.) Edited by Rev. C. J. Bowen in a simplified form under the title *Joy with God alone.*

God Everywhere Present: written in French by that Venerable Servant of God, Dr. Henry Mary Boudon, Archdeacon of Evreux.

1st edition. 1766. (Meighan, London.)
4th „ 1787. (Coghlan, London.)
1811.
1820.
1822.

Rules of Life for a Christian who desires to live holily and to die happily.

1766. (London.)
1788. (Coghlan, London.)
1898. (Catholic Truth Society, London.)

An Abstract of the History of the Bible: or a short account of the most remarkable things that have happened to the People of God; from the Beginning of the World, down to the coming of Christ. From the Sacred Records of the Old Testament. By R. C.

An Abstract of the History of the New Testament.

1st edition. 1767. (Meighan, London.)
2nd „ 1779. (Coghlan, London.)
4th „ 1800.
6th „ 1814. (Keating, Brown & Keating, London.)

A Short Daily Exercise with Devotions for Mass, Confession and Communion; abridged from the "Garden of Soul" and published for the use of the Poor; to which is added Thirty Meditations, one for every Day in the Month, on the most moving truths of Christianity, in order to determine the Soul to be quite in earnest in the Love and Service of her God.

1st edition. 1767. (London.)
3rd ,, 1769. (London.)

A Pastoral Instruction for the Apostolic Fast of Lent. By R. C.

1st edition. No date. (Coghlan, London.)
2nd ,, No date, but the Regulations for Lent, 1778, are added. (Coghlan, London.)

This pamphlet of thirty-six pages is sometimes ascribed to the year 1767, apparently because Barnard (*Life*, p. 154) groups this and several other small publications together when writing of that year. Neither Milner nor Charles Butler mention it at all.

Exhortations for Paschal Communion.
This also is ascribed to 1767 for the same reason.

Pious Reflections on Patient Sufferings.
A pamphlet of forty-eight pages without title or date. It also is ascribed to 1767 on the same ground.

Abridgment of Christian Doctrine. Revised and enlarged by R. C.

1772. (St. Omer).
1775. (Coghlan, London.)
1777. (Coghlan, London.)

An Exhortation to a thorough Conversion from Sin to God, with Regulations for Lent, 1775.

1775. (London.)

The Life of Faith, with Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity.
This is a leaflet without name or date "translated from the French, printed at Lille, 1771"; but it is attributed to Dr. Challoner in Coghlan's Catalogues and is found appended to *A Call to a Godly Life* published in 1773 (see below).

A New Year's Gift. Annual addresses which appeared in the Laity's Directory.

A Discourse on the name of Jesus. 1768.

A Call to a Godly Life. 1773.
A Caveat against the World. 1774.
On the good Employment of the Time we have yet to come. 1775.
A Call to Sinners to be converted from their evil ways of sin and death to the living God. 1776.

"The New Year's Gifts which were added to the former ones [issues of the Laity's Directory] by R. C. are now reprinted and may be had together." Coghlan's Catalogue, 30 Oct., 1776.

On the happiness of serving God. 1777.
On the great Business of the Christian during his mortal Pilgrimage. 1778.
The Sanctifying of the Lord's Day is recommended to the Christian Pilgrim as the sovereign means of divine appointment, to introduce us after the labours of this transitory life to the sabbath of eternal rest with the living God in His heavenly kingdom. 1779.
The Sanctifying the House of Prayer is recommended to the Christian pilgrim as the sovereign means of consecrating his soul to be the eternal Temple of the living God. 1780.

Books Edited by Dr. Challoner.

The Sincere Christian's Guide in the Choice of Religion. This was an edition of Gother's *Essay on the Change and Choice of Religion.*

1734.
1744. (Needham, London.)
1804. (London.)

Gother's Spiritual Works.

Published by Meighan, London, in several volumes. The date of this edition is unknown. Mr. Cooper in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (*s.v.* Goter) attributes it to 1740; Mr. Gillow in *Bibl. Dict. Eng. Cath.* (*s.v.* Challoner) to 1746, which is more probable as the book contains advertisements of works published as late as 1743.

A Papist Misrepresented and Represented, or a Two-fold Character of Popery—the one containing a sum of the superstitious Idolatrous Cruelties, Treacheries and wicked Principles laid to their charge; and other laying open that religion to which those termed Papists own and profess, the chief articles of their Faith, and the Principal Grounds and Reasons which attach them to it. Selected from the original of the Rev. John Gother.

1752 (?) This ran through nearly thirty editions.

Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta et alia quaedam officia Ecclesiastica rite peragendi in Missione Anglicana. Ex Rituali Romano Jussu Pauli Quinti edito, Extractus nonnullis adjectis ex antiquo Rituali Anglicano.

1759. London. This was issued "Auctoritate Vicariorum Apostolicorum". It was edited by Dr. Challoner himself. See Milner's Funeral Discourse (p. 15).

The Moveable Feasts, Fasts and Other Observances of the Catholic Church. A posthumous work of the late Rev. Mr. Alban Butler.

1774. (Lewis, London.)

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